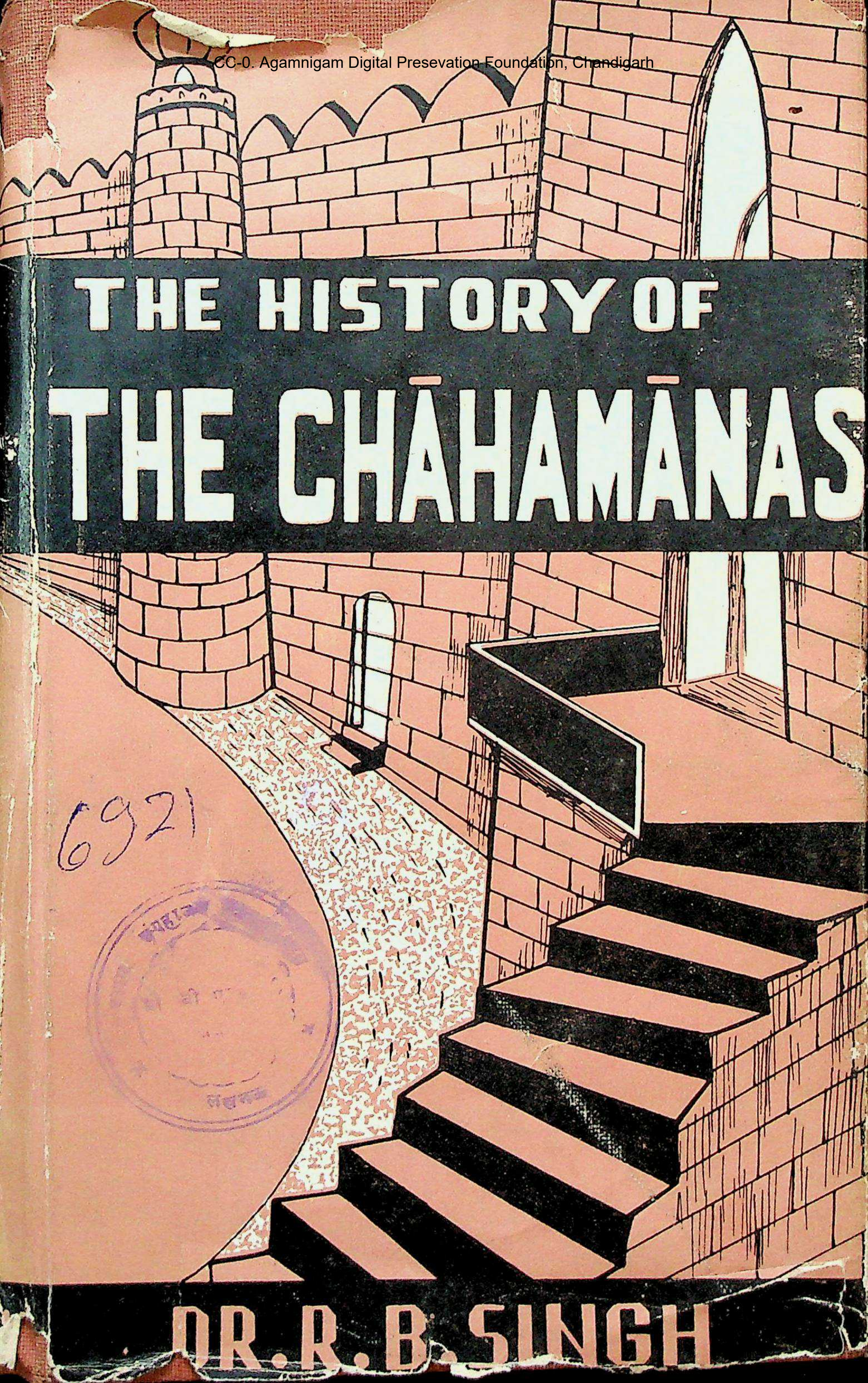

THE HISTORY OF
THE CHĀHAMĀNAS

6921

DR. R. B. SINGH

History of the Chāhamānas

(*R. B. Singh,* M. A., Ph. D.)

The present volume deals with the history of the chāhamānas from the middle of the 6th to the end of the 12th century A. D. The origin of the chāhamānas which has long been a subject of controversy among scholars, has been dealt with in detail and all the current theories have been examined afresh. Their long political history, on the other hand which is based on scattered and disarranged data, has been knit together into a harmonious whole and a complete picture of their achievements and failure has been placed before a reader's eye. The author has thrown a new light on the Chāhamānas-Turk conflict which went on unabated for a number of centuries and has shown how a gallant people went down fighting against a relentless foe. He has exhaustively dealt with the Chāhamāna system of administration and has presented a graphic picture of the social, religious and economic life of the people and, of their attainments in the domain of literature, art and architecture. In the end the author has given an estimate of the achievements and failures of the Chāhamānas as rulers. Thus, the present book fulfils a long-felt gap in the Rajput period of Indian history.

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With respect and affection to
my esteemed friend
Dr. B. N. Puri.

25. 9. 65.

State Museum Lucknow
6921

राज्य संग्रहालय पुस्तकालय
प्रो॰ बी॰ एन॰ पुरी
संग्रह
लखनऊ

HISTORY
OF
THE CHĀHAMĀNAS

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To
the Memory of
my daughter Minni (Mīnākshī)
Who is no more.

PREFACE

The aim of this volume is to present within a modest compass an account of the history of the Chāhamānas from the very beginning of their political career right upto the end of the 12th. century A. D. They had a long history for well over 600 years, much of which, however, is vague, uncertain and incomplete. At the same time, although the scattered and disarranged mass of historical data about the Chāhamānas, which are often conflicting and controversial and, at times, contradictory, have been pieced together, no attempt has been made so far to reconstruct, with their help, a harmonious whole and bring before the reader's eye a complete picture of their achievements and failures.

The scope of this subject is fairly wide and hence only a modest treatment of its various aspects could be attempted in the following pages. Ruling dynasties are bound to face many ups and downs in the course of their long history, and this is all the more so in case of the Chāhamānas, who had their origin, as a political power, in an age of struggle and whose growth and development was beset with various political and social upheavals in the country. Slowly but steadily, however, they paddled their way from an humble beginning to a powerful sovereign state exercising paramountcy over an extensive territory. They played their distinctive part in the shaping of history as rulers for about six centuries and made, along with other dynasties of their age, everlasting contributions to Indian religion and culture.

To begin with, we have experienced enormous difficulties in the reconstruction of the political and cultural history of the Chāhamānas for want of sufficient authentic data at our disposal, and sometimes, where original sources are lacking, surmises, generally based on evidence unconnected with the

Chāhamānas, have also been resorted to. We have endeavoured, as best as we could, to arrrive at historical truth and scientific accuracy by utilizing and critically examining all the available original sources of information—archaeological, literary and historical—supplemented by up-to-date researches of modern scholars on this subject. Moreover, in our attempt to build the edifice of the Chāhamāna history, we have scrupulously tried to arrive at conclusions based on evidence which has been collated, sifted and thoroughly scrutinized in all its details.

Among the most important sources of information for the history of this dynastiy are the epigraphs which record their achievements and failures both political and cultural. They are particularly useful in supplying us with correct genealogical tables of the family which would have been otherwise impossible to ascertain with any sense of accuracy. The coins, which are few in number, have proved equally valuable in assessing their economic achievements and territorial extension. The Chāhamāna monuments also, most of which were, no doubt, destroyed at the first onslaught of Turk invasion in the last decade of the 12th. century A. D., bear ample testimony to their social and cultural attainments.

The Prithvīrāja Vijaya Mahākāvya is the foremost among the literary sources of information, and, although it is incomplete in its present form, and suffers from literary embellishment in its descriptive portions, its contents find full confirmation from the epigraphic evidence. Having been written in the court of Prithvīrāja III, this poem serves as a sources of first hand information for the history of this dynasty. Next comes the Hammīra-Mahākāvya which also records the history and traditions about the Chāhamānas from the earliest times. However, as it was composed about two centuries later than the former, it cannot be placed by its side in the matter of accurate historical details. Some other Sanskrit works of this period, or of later dates as well, have been consulted and their evidence, if in agreement with approved facts, have been freely incorporated in proper places. Moreover, inspite of numerous additions and interpolations, the Hindi epic, the Pritihvīrāja Rāso, has, after careful scrutiny, proved highly useful. The Vīsaladeva Rāso, another Hindi poem, which was composed in the middle of the 12th. century A. D., is almost indispensable for the construction of the cultural history of the dynasty.

Among the Muslim works, the Kitab-ul-Hind of Al Beruni, the Tarikh-i-Yamini of Utbi, the Jami-ul Hikayat of Muhammad Ufi, the Taj-ul Ma Āsir of Hasan Nizami, the Tabakat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj-us-Siraj and the Tawarikh-i-Firishta provide us with considerable useful information, and although these historians generally present a partial and one-sided view, we cannot afford to ignore their statements regarding the history of the Chāhamānas.

Besides, I am indebted to all those authors and scholars, who have worked on the various aspects of the Chāhamāna history in recent times.

This thesis, which contains seventeen chapters, has been divided into two sections : The first deals with the political, and the second, with the cultural life of the people during the Chāhamāna regime. The first chapter narrates the confused political condition and consequent upheavals in that part of the country over which the early Chāhamānas ruled before their rise into prominence. The origin of the Chāhamānas has been discussed in some detail in the second chapter. Here we have tried to judge the comparative merits of different sources and various modern theories propounded by eminent scholars, and have drawn our own conclusions therefrom. The third chapter is devoted to the fixing up of their highly vague and uncertain genealogy and chronology. Chapters IV to X trace the various stages of their rise and growth, decline and fall in their long career of arms.

Chapter XI deals with the Chāhamāna system of administration while the next five chapters present a picture of society as it existed during the Chāhamāna reign, and trace the religious life, and the economic condition of the people and their attainments in th domain of literature, art and architecture. Chapter

XVII concludes the thesis with an estimate of the achievements and failures of the Chāhamānas as rulers of an extensive territory.

In the end, it is my pleasant duty to express my deep sense of gratitude to the late Dr. R. S. Tripathi, M. A., Ph . D. (Lond.) under whose guidance I worked for two years towards the completion of this volume. He always gave me, most ungrudgingly, the benefit of his deep scholarship and wide experience. I am also highly indebted to Dr. R. B. Pandey, M. A., D.Litt., formerly Professor of Ancient Indian History in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, B. H. U., who gave me valuable help and guidance in the preparation of this work.

Makara Sankrānti,

R. B. SINGH

January, 1964

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Ayeen Akbery by Abul Fazal.
AAR	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan by Col. James Tod, Calcutta, 1877; also ed. by W. Crooke, Milford, 1920.
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
ASI, wc	Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.
ASR	Archaeological Survey Reports, by Cunningham.
BG	Bombay Gazetteer.
CCIM	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.
CHI	Cambridge History of India.
CIC	Catalogue of Indian Coins by Rapson, London 1908.
CMI	Coins of Medieval India by Cunningham.
DHNI	Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. II, by H. C. Ray, Calcutta, 1936.
EHI	Early History of India by Smith, 4th. ed.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
Elliot	The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians by Sir H. M. Elliot and Dowson.
Geog. Dic.	Anc. and Medi. India. Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India by N. L. Dey, 1927.
GOS	Gayekwad Oriental Series.
HR	History of Rajputana by G. H. Ojha, Ajmer.
IA	Indian Antiquary.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
JASB	Journal of Asiatic society of Bengal.
JBORS	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
HMHI	History of Medieval Hindu India by C. V. Vaidya,
HM	Hammīra Mahākāvya of Nayachandra.
MNK	Muhṇot Naiṇsi kī Khyāt, trans. by Ram Narayan Dugada, Banaras.
PC	Prabandha Chintāmaṇi.
PV	Prithvīrāja Vijaya.
PBSP	Prachina Bharatiya Śasana Paddhati by A. S. Altekar, Allahabad, 1947.
RMR	Rajputana Museum Report.
SI	Sirohi-ka-Itihas by G. H. Ojha, Ajmer, 1911.
TF	Tarikh-i-Firishta, trans, by John Briggs.
TN	Tabakat-i-Nasiri by Minhaj-us-Siraj, trans. by Raverty.
TRAS	Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britian and Ireland.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

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HISTORY
OF
THE CHĀHAMĀNAS

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL CONDITION OF RAJASTHAN BEFORE

THE RISE OF THE CHĀHAMĀNAS

The original inhabitants of Rajasthan are the Bhils who are still to be found there in good number. The hilly nature of the country together with its sandy desert could not invite settlers from different directions unless they were forced to do so for their own safety and protection. This was perhaps the main reason that for a long time Rajasthan could not attract the Aryan population save for a few solitary settlements here and there.

When foreign invasions of India began from the north-west, some of the tribes of the Punjab were obliged to quit their ancestral homes in quest of 'fresh woods and pastures new'. The Mālavas who were occupying the Ravi-Satlej doab in the days of Alexander, moved southwards due to these foreign pressures and came to occupy the central part of Rajasthan—the Ajmer-Tonk-Mewar area—and continued to flourish there as an independent republic till about the end of the 1st century A.D.[1] During this period, the Yaudheyas, a sister republican tribe, held under their possession a long territory stretching from the borders of the Bahawalpur state, known at present as Johiyawar after them, to the south-eastern Punjab including a considerable portion of northern Rajasthan. The Ārjunāyanas occupied probably the Agra-Jaipur area whereas western Rajasthan, called Abiria in the Periplus, was inhabited by the Ābhīras who were also a republican tribe.[2]

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[1] A new History of the Indian People, vol. VI, p. 33.

With the rise of the Kushans and the Western Kshatrapas it became exceedingly difficult for these tribes to maintain their independence and their power as well as prestige were eclipsed for about a century. They sustained defeat and part of their territories were annexed first into the Kushan empire and then into the dominions of the Western Kshatrapas. They were, however, a warlike race who could not allow either the Kushans or the Kshatrapas to rule over them peacefully and when the power of these foreign dynasties declined they tried to reassert their independence which they valued as their richest treasure. Towards the close of the 2nd century A.D. the Yaudheyas succeeded in making their homeland free from the Kushan yoke and in their venture they probably received valuable aid and cooperation from their sister tribes which were also equally pining for their liberty. With the weakening of the Kshatrapa power through their mutual dissensions the Mālavas also raised the standard of revolt under their leader Śrīsoma and celebrated in C. 225 A.D. the Ekashashṭi sacrifice to proclaim the independence of their republic.[3]

Till the middle of the *4th* century A.D. practically the whole of Rajasthan was free from foreign rule, and was held by the indigenous people of whom a major portion were republican tribes. Thus, during this period Rajasthan lost its political unity and was divided and subdivided into small petty states which were all jealous of their liberty and independence. There was no central power worth the name in the country which could weld them together into a powerful state and their political disruption was almost complete.

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[2] ibid pp. 28-36.

[3] ibid. p. 34.

With the emergence of the Gupta empire India witnessed once again a unifying force and petty states either disappeared or were submerged into the rising empire of Samudragupta in the middle of the 4*th* century A.D. The Republican tribes of Rajasthan accepted the overlordship of the Gupta monarch and paid him tribute. There is, however, no conclusive evidence to show that the territories held by the republican tribes were annexed by him into the Gupta empire and in all probability they continued their semi-independent existence during his rule. They must have, however, been deprived of their national fervour and political activities which were their main qualities as a people. Dr. R. C. Majumdar is of the opinion that ‘by retaining these frontier states as faithful tributaries, he added to the defensive strength of the infant empire,’ for they might well have served as buffer-states against foreign rulers like the Śakas and the Kushans.[4]

But during the reign of his successor Chandragupta II, who followed a policy of ruthless suppression and carried his imperialistic designs to their extreme, these tribes seem to have been deprived of what remained of their power and to all intents and purposes they ceased to exist even as feudatory states.[5]

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[4] ibid p. 153.

By the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. disintegration set in the Gupta empire and its rulers began to lose fast the former vigour and strength of the family. The final blow against their tottering empire was, however, struck by the second wave of the Hūṇas under their leader Toramāṇa who carried his victorious arms as far as eastern Malwa. Almost the whole of eastern Rajasthan fell once again a victim to the wrath of foreigners which must have caused considerable chaos and confusion in this region.

Mihirkula, the son and successor of Toramāṇa, was a tyrant who deprived the country of its peace and happiness. Discontentment spread all around which resulted in a general uprising against the Hūṇa chief. This national awakening gave birth in Malwa to a man of uncommon ability who led the revolt to a successful conclusion. This hero of the age was king Yaśodharman of Malwa who must have been helped in his onerous task by the people of Rajasthan who were themselves up against the tyranny of the Hūṇa monarch. They inflicted a crushing defeat on Mihirkula some time before 532 A.D. and drove him out of the country.

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[5] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, on the other hand, holds the view that even during the reign of Samudragupta they were not allowed to continue as tributary frontier states but actually formed a part of his empire and were made to carry out all kinds of the Gupta sovereign's orders. (Jayaswal ; History of India (Hindi edi.) p. 322.)

King Yaśodharman, the saviour of the country and the destroyer of the Hūṇas, rose like a meteor on the political horizon of India, carried his victorious arms far and wide and suddenly vanished like a meteor again. Of his origin little is known save that he had probably some connection with the family to which belonged the long line of rulers ending with Bandhuvarman who governed Malwa, or a part of it, as a feudatory chief under Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.) with Daśapura (Mandsor) as his capital.[6] We may, however, hazard a suggestion here that the old republican tribe, the Mālavas, who had spread in later times right up to Malwa, thus giving their name to this province, still maintained, inspite of their long association with the Gupta monarchy their traditional instinct of freedom and peace and it was probably this instinct that gave birth in their midst to king Yaśodharman. As long as the Gupta grip was strong and the people were happy and prosperous under their benign rule, they silently, though not unwatchfully, bore the Gupta overlordship ; but once their hold was weakened, they were not prepared to bear the oppressive rule of the Hūṇas who were a foreign tribe. They, therefore, organised their resistance under king Yaśodharman and achieved their end by removing the Hūṇa menace from the country.

With the passing away of Yaśodharman, political disintegration was afoot again in Rajasthan. There was no longer a fear of any common danger which could unite the people and the absence of a strong central power either in Rajasthan or in the whole of northern India brought about only chaos and confusion in its train. India was thus once again faced with political suicide on account of its divisions and subdivisions into numerous petty states whose only achievement appears to be their mutual fight.

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[6] A New History of the Indian People, vol. VI, p. 202.

Our information of the number and names of the states that came into existence in Rajasthan during the middle of the 6th century A.D. is very meagre. But some of these states must have grown from amongst the old republican tribes which had been suppressed by the Guptas and, later on, destroyed by the Hūṇa avalanche. During this period, however, they reappeared on the political horizon of the country with an altogether different setting. They also adopted new ideals which, though contrary to their ancient traditions, were certainly in keeping with the spirit of the age. This must have been due to their long associations with indigenous monarchy which contributed considerably towards the disappearance of their republican spirit which they had successfully maintained through centuries' struggle against heavy odds of foreign invasions.

The Chāhamānas of Śākambharī appear to be one of such states and Vāsudeva, the earliest prince of the family, carved out a principality for himself in the region of lake Sambhar in Rajasthan. The Prabandha Kośa gives for this prince a date in 551 A.D.[7] and the circumstances in which this family took its birth only confirm it.[8] The Chāhamāna principality must have been quite insignificant during its early days and hence it escaped the notice of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang who made an extensive tour of the country. But in southern Rajasthan there was a fairly big kingdom of Bhinmal which was governed by a Kshatriya prince in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D.[9]

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[7] SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133.

[8] Chāhamāna after whom this faily is so named, is said to have come into this world to destroy the Mlechchhas. PV, II, 67.

During the first half of the 7th century A.D. there grew up in the north a strong kingdom of the Pushyabhūtis which succeeded in stemming the tide of political disintegration of the country for some time. The Pushyabhūtis were a mighty power during the reign of Harshavardhana and although most of Rajasthan did not come under his direct sway, his sphere of influence was extensive and the whole of Rajasthan once again enjoyed the peace and tranquility, offered by him. The Chāhamānas of Śākambharī who were still in infancy of their political career, must have received a serious set-back during the imperial rule of Harshavardhana who apparently checked, for a short time at least, their natural growth and expansion.

But when Harshavardhana passed away in 648 A.D., leaving behind no successor, there was confusion in the country again. This offered a suitable opportunity to small states for their growth and expansion. The sudden emergence of different states in Rajasthan and else where in India has caused some surprise to scholars. But they have apparently failed to understand the political trend of the age. There was, on one hand, no strong power like that of the Guptas or Harshavardhana in the country to keep under check the growth of small kingdoms and, on the other, the love of freedom of the indigenous people must find an outlet to give expression to their sense of liberty and good government. The common man in the country was in dire need of peace and the ancient ruling families of the land, which were long suppressed either by Indian imperialists or foreign invaders, were only looking out for an opportunity to revive their old tradition of giving to the country an organised government. And the political condition of the age offered them this opportunity of which they made the full use. Thus their non-emergence would have been even more surprising, for it was certainly contrary to the ancient traditions of India which ever desired an organised government and at the head of it a king who was to the people the very god on earth.

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[9] Hiuen Tsang Kā Bhārata Bhramaṇa (I. P. ed.) pp. 633-34.

The new states that emerged on the map of India were trying for political supremacy in the country and in this struggle for power the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī were left behind while their rivals the Pratīhāras of Ujjain, came out victorious. With the expansion of their kingdom the Pratīhāras seized Kanauj which had become the symbol of political supremacy in northern India, and from there they dominated the scene as an imperial power till the middle of the 10th century A.D. Under the vigorous rule of the kings of this family local dynasties were kept well under control and the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī owed allegiance to them as a feudatory state.

But the middle of the 10th century A.D. witnessed the decline in their power and disruption crept in soon in the Pratīhāra empire of Kanauj. A set of weak kings occupied the imperial throne who were unable to stem the tide of political disintegraion. Their fall thus occasioned the independence of local dynasties and the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī were not slow to take the opportunity by the fore lock.

It was during this period that one of the kings of Kanauj, possibly Devapāla (c 948-55 A.D.) or Vijayapāla (959-89 A.D.) was obliged to go in person to Simharāja, the king of Śākambharī (c. 944-71 A.D.) to liberate some captive princes from the latter's prison.[10] This clearly indicates the change that had overtaken both the families and it was from here and now that the Chāhamānas became a sovereign power by throwing off the yoke of Pratīhāra domination. A major portion of Rajasthan came under their direct sway and most of the local dynasties transferred their allegiance to them.

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[10] IA, 1913, p. 58; EI, vol. II, p. 127.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHĀHAMĀNAS

The origin of the Chāhamāna dynasty, which played an important role in the history of India during the early medieval ages, has become, like that of other royal races of India, a controversal issue, and different theories have been advanced by eminent scholars, which baffle completely a common reader. Therefore a close examination of these conflicting theories is essential to arrive at a definite and logical conclusion. But before doing so we may first go through the various records—epigraphic as well as literary—of the dynasty to see how far they help us to arrive at the truth.

I Indigenous Origin

(*i*) *Epigraphic* : We have at our disposal nearly hundred inscriptions belonging to this family. They range between a long period of about seven hundred years from the middle of the 8th to the middle of the 15th century A.D. Some of these inscriptions also throw light on the origin of this family. They all agree to say that the first man after whom this clan was so named, was Chāhamāna, though none of them helps us to know the exact period to which he belonged.

The earliest inscription, which enlightens us on the subject, is the Sevadi Copper plate inscription of king Ratnapāla, dated 1119 A.D. It gives the origin of the family as follows : 'A person came out of the eye of

Indra, Lord of the East, and from this person sprang the Chāhamāna dynasty.'[1] The second one is the Bijaulia Rock inscription of king Someśvaradeva, dated 1170 A.D. Of this the 12th verse tells us that formerly in the gotra of Śrī Vatsa Rishi was born at Ahichchhatrapura (king) Sāmantarāja who had many Sāmantas.[2] The next is the Sundha hill inscription, dated 1262 A.D., which records that formerly there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great Rishi Vatsa.[3] The fourth one is the Mount Abu inscription, dated 1320 A.D., which informs us that when the Solar and Lunar races had come to an end, the holy Vatsa, with the help of the Moon, brought about the creation of a new race of warriors, the Chāhamāna race.[4]

Thus the first inscription mentioned above expressly describes the originator of the Chāhamāna dynasty as belonging to the Solar race of the Kshatriyas, for Indra is said to be one of the twelve Ādityas (the Sun). The next three inscriptions associate the founder of this branch with the holy Vatsa, certainly a Vedic Rishi, who was born in the Solar race of the Aryans. So all these inscriptions are unanimous in assigning to the Chāhamāna dynasty an origin whicle is as old as the race of the Aryans and call it a branch of the Solar race of the Kshatriyas.

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1. EI, vol. XI, p. 305 verse 2.
2. JBAS, vol. LV, 1886, part I, pp. 41-43.
   C.V. Vaidya, however, translates the verse as follows; "There was a Brāhmin of Śri Vatsa gotra formerly in Ahichchhatrapura. From him was (descended or born) king Sāmanta of many Sāmantas." Vaidya; HMHI, vol. II, P. 93.
3. EI, vol. IX, p. 71. verse 4.
4. ibid, p. 79, verses 6-10.

During the reign of the Chāhamāna emperor Vīsaladeva IV, an inscription containing the origin of the dynasty was incised on a piece of stone and put in the Sarasvatī temple at Ajmer. Of this inscription only a portion is available at present. This portion informs us that the founder of the Chāhamāna dynasty of Ajmer belonged to the Solar race and that he was born in the lineage of Ikshvāku and Rāma.[5]

(*ii*) *Literary* : The literary sources, dealing with the origin of this dynasty, may be divided into two parts, viz., the earlier and the later. The former group consists of the Prithvīrāja Vijaya and the Hammīra Mahākāvya, while to the latter belong the Surjana Charita, the Prithvīrāja Rāso, the Hammīra Rāso, and the Vamśa-Bhāskara.

Of these books, the earliest is the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya-Mahākāvya, written to sing the glories of the illustrious Prithvīrāja III by his own court poet Jayānaka in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.[6] The second canto of this work contains a detailed and graphic account of the descent of Chāhamāna into this world from the Arkamaṇḍal (orbit of the sun)[7] and his descendants are mentioned in several places as belonging to the Solar dynasty of kings.[8]

The Hammīra Mahākāvya, written in the first quarter of the 15th century A.D.,[9] describes the origin of this dynasty as follows : "Once upon a time Brahmā wandered in search of a holy place where to hold a sacrifice. The lotus which he held in his hand, fell on the ground, as if unable to bear the superior beauty of the lotus-like palm of the god. The god from this circumstance regarded the spot, where the lotus fell, as an auspicious one, and there, freed from anxiety, commenced the sacrifice. Anticipating persecutions from the Dānavas, the god remembered the thousand rayed one (the sun), when a being, his face surrounded by a halo of radiance, came down from the orb of the Sun. Him, the destroyer, Brahmā appointed to the work of protecting the sacrifice. From that day the place where the lotus fell, has been called Pushkara. Having obtained the paramount power from the four faced Creator, he ruled over the heads of the kings, as his ancestor, the Sun, ruled over the heads of the mountains. By the name of Chohān, this prince became the shoot of the family tree."[10]

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[5] Ojha ; The History of Rajasthan, vol. I, p. 73, & foot note. 1

[6] Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, April & May, 1873 p. 94.

[7] PV, II, 1-43.

[8] उन्नतिं रविवंशस्य पृथ्वीराजेन पश्यता PV, VIII, 54.

[9] NPP, (New ed.) vol. XII, part III, p. 264.

A copy of the Prithvirāja Rāso, preserved in the Fort Library, Bikaner, is said to be the earliest recension of the epic yet obtained, and is supposed to have been written in the 15th or early 16th century A.D. It contains only a passing reference to the origin of the Chāhamānas. We are told there that 'From the sacrifice of Brahmā was born the first valiant Chauhān Manikya Rai.'[11]

The Surjana Charita, which was composed in the middle of the 16th century A.D. by a Bengali poet Chandra Śekhara who lived at the court of the Chauhan prince Rao Surjana of Ranthambhore, tells us that it was Brahmā who, while performing a sacrifice at Pushkara, created the first Chāhamāna from the disc of the Sun.[12]

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[10] IA, vol. VIII, p. 57; HM I, 1-25.

[11] ब्रह्मा न जग उपन्नभूर मानिंकराइ चहुआनसूर IHQ, Dec. 1940, p. 746.

But the Prithvrīāja Rāso, published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, came in its present form some time by the end of the 16th or early 17th century A.D. and hence it contains a lot of details which are baseless and apparently absurd, so much so that scholars have begun to doubt its antiquity, authenticity and genuineness.[13] According to this epic "The Rishis made mount Ābu their dwelling place and made preparations to perform a grand yajña there. This was unbearable to the Rākshasas who also assembled there in large numbers and began to use various foul means to destroy the Yajña. The Rishis in their utter helplessness approached Vaśishṭha and apprised him of their plight. The great Rishi came to the Yajña-Kuṇḍa (fire-fountain) and out of it he created three warriors namely Parihāra, Chālukya and Paramāra who, however, proved unequal to the task and could not drive away the Rākshasas.

"The great Rishi then dug a new Yajña-kuṇḍa and, praying the four-faced Brahmā, he put the 'Ahuti' in the fire fountain. At once a four armed man, holding in his hands bow and arrow, sword and shield, appeared from the Yajña-kuṇḍa. Vaśishtha called him Chāhuvāna and after having performed his coronation with vedic hymns, he asked him to fight the demons. In order to help his hero he remembered the goddess Āśāpurā and sent her to the field of battle. Chāhuvāna killed

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[12] ibid, p. 746.

[13] JASB, 1887, vol. LV. pp. 5-65; NPP, (new ed.) vol. I pp.

Yantraketu while Dhūmraketu was destroyed by the goddess herself. The rest of the demons, frightened and leaderless, took to their heels. The goddess Āśāpurā, pleased by the valour of the hero, agreed to be the family deity of the Chāhuvāna race and then she disappeared. In the family of this Chāhuvāna was born Prithvīrāja, the hero of the epic."[14]

A similar story with slight variations in details is narrated in the Hammīra Rāso, composed in 1728 A.D. by Jodharāja, a court-poet of prince Chandrabhāna of of Nīmarānā. This poem tells us that when the warrior race of Kashatriyas was extinct, the Rishis assembled in large numbers on Mount Abu to create a new race of fighters to destroy the demons and to maintain peace and order, and on their request lord Śiva made the Mount his permanent abode. The Rishis started the Yajña in the presence of Śiva and Brahmā and very soon from the fire-pit there sprang up three heroes, Chālukya, Paramāra and Pratīhāra respectively. But when they could not defeat the demons, the Rishis dug up another Kuṇḍa. In this sacrifice Brahmā played the Creator, Bhrigu, the Hotā, Vaśishṭha, the Āchārya, Vatsa, the Ritvika, and Paraśurāma the Yajamāna. There appeared from the Kuṇḍ, like fire itself, a great hero who, on account of his four arms, was called Chahuvānaji. The Rishis blessed him and with the assistance of the goddess Āśāpurā, he destroyed the demons.[15]

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[14] Prithvīrāja Rāso (Nagari Pracharini Sabha edition) Rāso-Sār, pp. 7-8.

[15] Hammīra Rāso (Nagari Pracharini Ed.) pp. 8-14.

Sūrya Malla Mishraṇa, the court poet of Bundi, has almost copied his predecessors on the origin of the Chāhamānas. We learn from him that the sage Vaśishṭha, while performing a Yajña on Arbudagiri, invited Brahmā, Vishṇu, Maheśa, Indra and other gods to help him against the demons who were trying to defile it. The gods took pity on him and, in order to destroy the demons, Brahmā, the grand-father, created from the burning fire-pit four Kshatriya warriors,namely Pratīhāra, Chālukya, Paramāra and Chahuvāna. The last of the heroes, who was created after putting in the 'Ahuti' in fire with anger and determination, succeeded in killing the demons and the Rishi completed his Yajña.[16] But, while describing the fire origin of the Chāhamānas, the author does not foreget to observe that as the sun and the fire are identical, the fire-born Kshatriyas are the same as those belonging to the Solar race (Sūrya Vamśa).[17]

Thus all the epigraphic as well as literary sources from the Prithvīrāja Vijaya to the Surjana Charita (16th Century A.D.) are almost unanimous in connecting the Chāhamānas with the sun and they expressly describe them as belonging to the Solar race of the Kshatriyas. But when we come down to the 17th century and onward we find an altogether different story about their origin. The line of demarkation is crystal clear and there is absolutely no place for doubt about the new tendency that was responsible for the evolution of the story that captured the imagination of the people more than anything else. The long and hopeless struggle of the Chāhamānas against the Muslims and their ultimate political bondage perhaps made their bards and poets forget, if not completely, at least partially, their real origin, who, later on, forged a new one only to glorify their patrons.

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[16] Vamśa Bhāskara, pp. 91-94.

[17] ibid, p. 87.

This 'Agni-kula theory' came into existence probably by the end of the 16th century with constant and ever-increasing additions and interpolations in the Prithvīrāja rāso, for an earlier recension of the epic, as already noticed, makes no reference to it. Had this theory been an old one and known to earlier authors, they would certainly have made full use of it and, as is the case with the Hammīra Rāso and the Vamśa Bhāskara, it must have found a proper place in their works.

The fact, therefore, appears to be that the clans, branded as 'Agni-kulas' fought hard from the very beginning of their political career on the map of India to their end as independent powers against Muslim invaders to save their country, their religion and honour, and this noble endeavour found its culmination in the person of Prithvīrāja, the hero of the Rajputs, who alongwith thousands of his brethren, fell fighting the battle for the protection of the freedom of the country as well as its culture and civilization from Muslim aggression. The same struggle was revived again in the last quarter of the 16th century A.D. when the Rajput hero of Mewar took up arms against the mighty Mughal emperor Akbar, to maintain the lofty ideals of his war-like race as well as to protect the religion of his ancient land. And, therefore, this theory of fire-descent was probably set in motion by some bard of the time to glorify the four clans and 'to rouse the Rajputs to join the struggle of that great hero whose very name is the emblem of patriotism even today'. It appears thus that the story was told in the beginning in all good faith and was the creation of a poet's brain who must have been a poet, a philosopher and an artist all in one. But in course of time his real motive was lost sight of, and ultimately the heroic descent descended into the realm of a mere theory supplying ample food for the imaginative brain of a modern historian.

This descent of Chāhamāna from the fire-pit of Mount Ābu was no doubt extremely popular with the princes and the people alike, but all the same it is nothing more than a story of recent origin and was set in mythical garb only to catch the imagination of the people. However, popularity alone cannot be the sole critarian for ascertaining truth and, as this fire-origin is completely unknown to epigraphic and early literary sources, the latter cannot be ignored simply to adjust a popular belief. We may conclude, therefore, that this fire-descent is nothing more than a heroic descent applied to the people who otherwise claim an indigenous origin.

II Theories of Foreign Origin

Col. James Tod's View : The mythology of the heroic descent of the four clans from the fire-pit of Mount Abu was to Col. James Tod a strange phenomenon and this greatly impressed his highly imaginative brain. In course of his narrative, therefore, he says : When the Kshatriyas were extirpated twenty-one times by Paraśurāma, great disorders ensued in society and ignorance and infidelity spread on the land. The sacred books were trampled down under foot and mankind had no refuge from the monstrous brood. The gods then desired to regenerate the warrior race and they assembled for the purpose on Mount Abu with Indra, Brahmā, Roodra, Vishṇu and all the inferior divinities in their train. A grand convocation was held there and a fire-pit was prepared to perform the ceremony. Indra initiated the rite followed by Brahmā and Roodra and they produced from the Analakuṇḍa three heroes, namely Paramāra, Chālukya (Solanki) and Purihār (Pratīhāra) respectively. These warriors, however, failed to drive away the demons.

Then Vishṇu formed the fourth image and a figure like himself, "four-armed, each having a separate weapon, issued from the flames, and was thence styled Chaturbhooja Chauhān, or the 'four-armed'. The gods bestowed their blessings upon him, and Macāvatīnagarī as a territory. Such was the name of Gurra-Mandilla in the Dapur, or Silver Age." He succeeded in slaying the demons with the help of the other new-born warriors. He further quotes the great bard of the Chāhamānas that "Of the thirty-six royal races the Agni-kula is the greatest : the rest were born of woman ; these were created by the Brahmins."[18]

The period of the grand convocation of the gods on Mount Abu to regenerate the warrior races of Hind, and to incite them against "the infidel races who had spread over the land" is dated, according to Tod, who relies for this information on bards, so far back as the opening of the Second Age of the Hindus."[19]

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[18] Tod ; AAR, (ed. 1877), vol. II, pp. 383-84.

It was, however, this mythological story which induced him to doubt the validity of the claim of the Rajputs to have descended from the ancient Kshatriya kings and he made certain observations to show their affinity with the Scythians and other peoples that lived on the other side of the Hindu Kush during the period of Greeco-Bactrian and Kushan rules in India. He concludes : "Let us pause here for a moment before we proceed with the chronicle, and enquire who were these warriors, thus regenerated to fight the battles of Brahminism, and brought within the pale of their faith ? They must have been either the aboriginal debased classes, raised to moral importance by the ministers of the pervading religion, or foreign races who had obtained a footing amongst them. The contrasted physical appearance of the respective races will decide this question. The aborigines are dark, diminutive and ill-favoured ; the Agniculas are of good stature, and fair, with prominent features, like those of the Parthian kings. The ideas which pervade their martial poetry are such as were held by the Scythians in distant ages, and which even Brahminism has failed to eradicate ; while tumuli, containing ashes and arms, discovered throughout India, especially in the south about Gowalcoond, where the Chauhans held sway, indicate the nomadic warrior of the north as the proselyte of Mount Abu."[20]

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[19] ibid., p. 384.

This statement of Col. Tod requires a close examination, for it was he who first set in motion the theory of foreign origin of the Chāhamānas and other royal races of India. He thus prepared the path for others to follow him. The following points in this connection deserve our attention :—

(i) Convocation of gods on Mount Abu and its period.
(ii) Identification of the monstrous brood.
(iii) Similarity in physical appearance and ideas pervading the martial poetry of the Rajputs and the Scythians.
(iv) Cradle home of the Chāhamānas and their migration therefrom.
(v) Superiority of the Agnikula.

The grand convocation of gods is said to have been called on Mount Abu to regenerate the warrior class. This event, if it happened at all, must be taken to be an epoch making one and is alone enough to change the course of history. But it is really strange that, far from influencing the course of history, it does not even find a passing reference in the whole range of our literature, historical or other wise, up to the 16th century A.D. If the warrior class as a whole, or even a part thereof, had really been regenerated, as Col. Tod would have us believe, these people must have expressed their high sense of relief and gratitude to the great Rishis for their conversion to the all pervading religion of the land.

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[20] Tod ; AAR, (Calcutta ed. 1877) vol. II, pp. 384-85.

But since the opening of the second age of our ancient civilization when this event is supposed to have taken place down to the 16th century A.D. we find nothing of the kind, we may not be wrong to call this grand convocation a grand absurdity.

We are further told that this work of regeneration was taken up to destroy the monstrous brood which, according to the bard, refers to Dytes, Asuras and Danoos.[21] Col. Tod identifies these people with the Indo-Scythian tribes from the North-West who paid no respect to the Brāhmaṇas.[22] Here there is an apparent contradiction in the statement of the great historian of Rajasthan who identifies the regenerated people also with the Scythians[23] or the Takshaka race.[24] This simply leads us to the conclusion that the regenerated warriors and the demons were one and the same people and that they were made to kill each other.

His identification, however, of the new warrior class of India with the invaders of the North-West is based on similarity in their physical appearance as well as in ideas pervading their martial poetry, Can there be any thing more erroneous and misleading than this ? The Aryans and the Scythians are said to have belonged to the same family of Indo-Iranians and hence their physical appearance could not but be similar. Furthermore, the highest ideals of chivalry and heroism have always been the same in all climes and countries, and, as both the peoples belong to the most war-like section of mankind, it is no wonder that the same ideas and ideals pervade their martial poetry. In India itself we find an unbroken continuity of martial ideals from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata down to the present age and therefore the Rajput age can be no exception to it.

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[21] Prithvīrāja Rāso—Rāso sāra pp. 7-8.

[22] Tod ; AAR, vol. II (Calcutta ed. 1877) p. 383, foot note.

[23] Tod ; AAR, vol. II (Calcutta ed. 1877) p. 384.

[24] ibid (Crooke ed.) vol. I, 114.

According to the bardic chronicle, the hero Chāhamāna, created on Mount Abu, was assigned a territory in the South. Thus the cradle land of the Chāhamānas was the tract of Gadh-Mandala, known as Macāvatī-nagarī, in the Dvapara or Silver Age. It was from there, therefore, that the Chāhamānas are said to have spread north and south in the country. This tradition induces Col. Tod to observe that 'tumuli containing ashes and arms, discovered throughout India, especially in the south about Gowalcoond (Golkunda in the Deccan), where the Chohāns held sway, indicates the nomadic warrior of the north (Scythian) as the proselyte of Mount Abu.'

But epigraphic[25] as well as literary[26] sources all agree to show that the country round Pushkara and Ajmer was the cradle land of the early Chāhamānas and it is from this region that they spread north and south, east and west. And again, there is no historical evidence, so far available, to trace the existence of the Chāhamānas as rulers in the region about Golkunda, nor there is any tradition, recorded or oral, among these

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25. EI, vol. II, p. 115-30; ibid vol. XXVI, pp. 83 ff...
IA, 1913, pp. 57-64.

26. PV. Cantos IV and V.

people to show that they ever put their ashes and arms in 'tumuli' and buried them under ground.

Of all the the thirty-six royal races of India the Agnikula is said to be the greatest. But this rank they occupy, not because they were created by Brāhmaṇas and the rest were born of women as the bard would have us believe, but because of their heroic sacrifices as the guardians of the gates of India and her culture and civilization against the invaders of the north-west for hundreds of years. This tradition they upheld even afterwards when the country was over-run by the Muslims. Thus, by the time (17th century A.D.) this verdict was passed by the bard, they had already secured for themselves the highest position among the royal families of India. This superiority, therefore, was achieved by them on merit and not on the so-called fire-descent.

Thus the very foundation, i.e., the fire origin of the Rajputs, on which James Tod built his whole edifice, is defective and his arguments in defence of his theory are weak and shaky. This is mostly due to the lack of historical evidence in his time and, consequently, we may not accuse him of insincerity towards the people for whose valour and chivalry he had the highest regards and was apparently struck with wonder at their heroic sacrifices and their regard for honour and truth. It was, however, enough to raise a doubt about the truth of their claim of Solar or Lunar origin, and it at once provided a wide field for the fertile brains of historians and scholars to advance a number of theories and their imagination indulged in various kinds of speculations about it.

But James Tod worked under certain handicaps. Bardic chronicles and legends were the main sources available when he took up the task of constructing the Rajput history. These sources naturally could not take him earlier than the 11th century A.D. But since then abundant historical materials of different varieties have been discovered and placed at the disposal of historians. It is highly probable that had the celebrated author of the 'Rajasthan' been alive he might have revised his opinion regarding the orign of the Rajputs, for he himself confessed, "Hereafter I may embody some distinct remarks on the martial races of India, and attempt an approach to the orign of some. It will involve some speculative notion, and without, perhaps, much solid foundations."[27]

Since the time of Col. James Tod this subject has been studied by different scholars, European as well as Indian, in the light of new researches and all of them have arrived at their own conclusions. But unfortunately, inspite of an abundance of historical materials, most of the European and some of the Indian scholars have taken shelter behind, or a clue from, the Agnikula theory which has ultimately led them to the same conclusions. We shall, therefore, do better to exmine the different theories on the subject and see what conclusion can be deduced from them.

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson was probably the first scholar to put forward the theory of the Gurjara Origin of the Rajputs. He says that "taking this fact in connection with the prevalence of the surnames Pavār and Chavān among Gujars in such remote provinces as the Punjab and Khandesh, it seems obvious that these two tribes (Paramāras and Chāhamānas) and therefore also the two other Agnikula races, the Parihārs and Solankīs, are, if not of Gurjjara origin, at all events members of the great horde of northern invaders whom the Gurjjaras led. The agreement between this theory and the Angikula legends of Abu need only be pointed out to be admitted." But evidently he does not seem to be quite sure of his grounds and in the same strain he seeks shelter behind the argument that "The origin of modern Rajput races has always been one of the puzzles of Indian history. This suggestion seems to offer at least a partial solution."[28]

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[27] Transactions the RAS, vol. I, p. 137.

Sir James Camp-bell, believing in the Gurjara origin of the Chāhamānas vis-a-vis the Rajputs, comes to the conclusion that "The direct evidence is not strong that the four tribes of Agnikulas, which were reborn in the fire-pit of Mount Abu to help the Brāhmaṇas against the Buddhists and their foreign allies, were Gujars."[29]

Mr. Baden Powell, who holds almost indentical views on the Lunar and Solar races of the Aryans, argues : 'There is no doubt that a great majority of the clan names in the Punjab, belonging both to the Rajput and Jat sections, 'indicates that when the numerous Bala, Indo-Seythian, Gujar and Hūṇa tribes settled down, the leading military and priestly houses were accepted as Rajputs while those who frankly took to cultivation became Jats.'[30]

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[28] BG., vol. I, Part I, p. 468.

[29] ibid, vol. IX, Part I, p. 483.

This theory of Gurjara (or foreign) origin has found an illustrious supporter in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in whose opinion "This much is uncontrovertible that Vāsudeva[31] was of foreign blood and consequently the Chāhamāna family to which be pertained was also a foreign tribe" which probably belonged to the Khazar or Gurjara stock.[32]

This view is further shared by Mr. William Crooke who observes : "The group denoted by the name Kshatriya or Rajput depended on status rather than on descent and it was, therefore, possible for foreigners to be introduced into these tribes without any violation of the prejudices of caste which was then only partially developed. But it was necessary to disguise this admission of foreigners under a convenient fiction. Hence arose the legend how by a solemn act of purification or initiation under the superintendence of ancient Vedic Rishis, the fire-born septs were created to help the Brahmins in repressing Buddhism and other heresies. This privilege was confined to four septs known as Agni-kula or fire-born, viz., the Parmār, Parihār, Chālukya and Chauhān."[33]

Mr. V.A. Smith, describing the foreign origin of the Rajputs 'long suspected but now established by good evidence', makes a generalisation that 'the Parihārs and many other famous Rajput clans of the north were developed out of the barbarian hordes which poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries.'[34]

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[30] JRAS, 1899, p. 546.

[31] He was the first prince of the family who founded the dynasty in central Rajputana in the middle of the 6th century A.D.

[32] I.A., vol. XL, pp. 25-26.

[33] Tod; AAR, (Crooke ed.) Introduction, p. XXXII.

These are in brief the various theories with regard to the foreign (or Gurjara) origin of the Chāhamānas.

III Criticism of the Theory of Gurjara Origin

In Indian history we come across the word Gurjara in the 7th century A.D. in the Harshacharitam of Bāṇa and in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. The former calls Prabhākaravardhana, the king of Sthāṇviśvara, as Hūṇa-Hariṇa-Keśarī and Gurjara-Prajāgarah in the same context.[35] The Chinese traveller refers to the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinmal and distinctly calls its ruler a Kshatriya prince.[36]

These references of the Gurjaras along with the Hūṇas, especially in the work of Bāṇa, has led some historians to conclude that the Gurjaras are foreigners and are, as a people, allied with the Hūṇas. Thus the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Bhinmal[37] within 'about a century after their coming to India had become Hindus and had actually acquired the rank of Kshatriyas.'[38] And as the

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[34] Smith ; The Early History of India (second ed. 1908) p. 303.

[35] Bāṇa ; Harsha Charitam, 133 ; Dr. Mukerji ; Harsha, p. 11.

[36] Hiuen Tsang ka Bharat Bhramaṇa (IP. ed.) pp. 633. 34.

[37] When Hiuen Tsang visited Bhinmal, it was ruled not by the Gurjara Pratīhāras but by king Vyāghramukha of Chāpa dynasty. Ojha ; History of Rajputana, vol. I, pp. 148-49. 38

[38] IA, vol. XL, pp. 24-25.

Chāhamānas and the Pratīhāras are linked up as fire-born races, their logical conclusion is that the chāhamānas are also gurjara in origin and hence a foreign tribe.

But there being no mention any where as to who these Gurjaras were and where they came from, a similarity in sound has probably led Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to the conclusion that the Gurjars (Gurjaras) are the descendants of the Khazars ; and as the latter are mentioned in western history along with the Huns, he argues that they came to India along with the Hūṇas.[39]

But we learn from the Encyclopaedia Britannica that the Khazars were 'an historic figure upon the border land of Europe and Asia for at least nine hundred years (190-1100 A.D.). Their home was in the spurs of the Caucasus and along the shores of the Caspian—"the sea of the Khazars." They were the Venetians of the Caspian . . . ., the universal carriers between East and West.' We are further told that they 'were an indigenous people of the Caucasus and near akin to the Armenians and the Georgians', and that they were 'fair-skinned, black-haired, and of remarkable beauty and stature' though the Kara (black) Khazars were 'ugly, short and almost as dark as Indians'. 'The latter were indubitably the Ugrian nomads of the steppe, akin to the Tartar invaders of Europe, Huns, Bulgarians, and the Hungarians, who filled the armies and convoyed the Caravans of the ruling caste.'[40]

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[39] IA, vol. XL, pp. 24-25.

[40] Ency. Britannica, vol. XIV, p. 59.

C. V. Vaidya, with the help of this description, has advanced his arguments to contradict the views of Dr. Bhandarkar. He says : " The Indian Gujars are all tall with fine features, though dark in complexion. The tall beautiful Khazars are, on the other hand, very fair and not dark like the Gujars. They (the black Khazars) are again allied to the Finns and Urgas and must be Mongolian in face as indeed the Huns were. But the Gujars can never be said to be Mongolian in face, their features, especially the nose, distinctly Aryan."[41]

The history of the Khazars reveals that they never left their country during the period of their existence (190-1100 A.D.). We are told that " throughout the sixth century Khazaria was a mere highway for the wild hordes to whom the Huns had opened the passages into Europe and the Khazars took refuge amongst the seventy mouths of the Volga." The Khazars, however, "arose out of the chaos to more than their ancient renown. They issued from the land of Barsilia, and extended their rule over the Bulgarian hordes left masterless by the Turks, compelling the more stubborn to migrate to the Danube (641 A.D.)."[42]

The country of the Khazars in the south bordered on Persia and Byzantium and so they "were for the most part restrained within the passes of the Caucasus by the fortifications of Dariel." In the east their power extended along the eastern shore of the Caspian to Asterabad.[43]

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41. Vaidya. HMHI, vol. I, p. 84.

42. Encyclo. Britannica, vol. XIV, p. 60.

43. ibid, p. 59.

This history of the Khazars, which has been traced in some detail, clearly shows that these people never came to India. They were no doubt pressed up for some time but this pressure was from the east to which direction they could not possibly move. Thus Dr. Bhandarkar's identification of the Khazars with Indian Gujars cannot hold good and they cannot be taken to be one and the same people and the similarity in sound of both the names, which was perhaps responsible for this identification, may be nothing more than an accident.

In fact the Gujars (Gurjaras) appear to be the people belonging to the part of the country known as Gurjaratrā in southern Rajasthan and that they are probably Indian in origin.[44] The Hūṇas also, after their sovereignty was lost in India, were either destroyed or mixed up in the general population of the country, as was the case with other invaders before them. However, few of them did servive as petty ruling families, but in such cases they maintained invariably their family name Hūṇa. The Chāhamānas, simply because of their association with the Pratīhāras in the Agni-kula legend, cannot be branded as either Gujars or foreigners, for this association itself is of much later date. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, tells us that though "it is true that the origin of the other important tribes in India has been traced to the Gurjaras," yet "while all these theories may be accepted as good working hypotheses, hardly any of them can claim to be an established fact."[45]

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[44] Vaidya, HMHI, vol. II, p. 10.

[45] Journal, of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. X, p. 6, foot note 2.

Similarity in name has again led Mr. Jackson to an equally erroneous conclusion. The prevalence of surnames Pavār and Chavān among the Gujars has induced him to infer that the tribes Paramāras and Chāhamānas are Gurjaras. But such similarities can be multiplied and if we begin constructing history on the basis of such similarities it will lead us to confusion alone. Can the Saxenas, a section of the Kāyastha community in India, be treated as the descendants of the Saxon race or the vice-versa ? Or again, can the Chamars, a leather-working community among the Hindus, be taken, on this basis, as a branch of the Chauhans. To historians similarities are some times helpful, but often misleading, especially in case of the determination of the origin of a race.

IV The Interpretation of the Agni-kula Theory

The Agni-kula story has further been torn out of its context and twisted by European historians. Strangely enough they hold that the Agni-kulas were created to save Hinduism from the Buddhists and their foreign allies.[46] Now if this story is as old as that when the Buddhists are supposed to have sought foreign aid against the Hindus during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., it must have found its proper place among the early records of the Chāhamānas. But, as it is not mentioned in any one of the Chāhamāna records right up to the 16th century A.D., we may discard this contention as groundless. As a matter of fact India has never witnessed religious wars among the Hindus and the Buddhists as we find in European, Arabian or Persian history and hence the so-called Agni-kulas cannot be taken to have been born or initiated into the Hindu fold to save its religion from the Buddhists and their foreign allies.

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[46] Tod ; AAR, Crooke ed. Intruduction, p. XXXII.
BG, vol. I, part I, p. 483.

This legend is perhaps the reflection of the age and came into existence on account of the incessant fight of the Rajputs in defence of their religion and faith against the Muslims for about four hundred years after their occupation of the country. The Prithvīrāja-Rāso came in its present form by the end of the 16th century A.D., and, if literature rightly mirrors the spirit of the age, the Daityas of the legend, who are said to be the destroyers of existing Dharma, may represent the Muslims, the most determined enemy of Hindu religion, and the four classes, viz., the Paramāras, the Chālulyas, the Pratīhāras and the Chāhamānas, on account of their titanic struggle which raged with unabated fury for centuries, may be allegorically said to have been born of fire—an emblem of purity—only to show their superiority over the rest of the royal families of India.

" So there is nothing to prove the Agni-kula origin of the four tribes and it is a story of much later date. It has been utilised by the sponsors of the theory of foreign origin of the Rajputs perhaps without testing its truth. It cannot be accepted to prove either their celestial or foreign origin. The story was invented not to hide a foreign origin but to claim a heroic one as we have already seen ; for otherwise we would have found thirty-six knights coming out of the fire fountain and not four only."[47]

According to Dr. D. C. Ganguly "the grouping of these three races (the Chāhamānas, the Chaulukyas and the Pratīhāras) is nothing but the figment of the imagination of the bards of the later age."[48] Dr. Hoernle, however, is more emphatic on the point and says, "It seems clear, therefore, that the whole of the Chohan clan, in the main as well as the side lines, laid no claim to being a 'fire-race.'"[49]

Cunningham also holds that "the contention of the Rajput bards that the Chauhans are one of the four Agnikulas, is of comparatively modern date, as the common Gotrāchārya of all the Chauhan tribes declares them to be of the race of Vatsa, through five famous ancestors." He further corroborates his statement with one of the inscriptions of king Jayachandra of Kanauj, where-in a record of a grant of land was made in 1177 A.D. to a Kshatriya named Rāu Rāshṭradhara Varmmā, who is said to be of the Vatsa Gotra, with the five Pravaras of Bhārgava, Chyavaṇa, Apnavana, Aurva and Jāmadagnya. From this document he concludes that "the Chauhans even so late as the reign of Prithvīrāja, laid no claims to be sprung from fire but were content to be considered as descendants of the holy sage, Bhrigu, through Jāmadagnya Vatsa."[50]

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[47] Origin of the Chalukyas. p. 18.

[48] History of Paramāra Dynasty, pp. 7-8, foot note.

[49] JRAS, 1905, p. 21.

[50] Cunninghma. Arch. Sur. Rep. 1864-65, vol. I , pp. 253-54.

V The Theory of the Sassanian Origin

A Sassanian origin is also attribued to the Chāhamānas on the basis of certain coins found in the north-western India. These coins are of Sassanian "fabric bearing inscriptions in Nagari Sassanian Pahlavi, and an alphabet, hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet, used by the Scytho Sassanians." Prof. Rapson ascribes to one of the issues of the coins which has the name Śrī Vāsudeva in Nāgarī characters and all the remaining portions of its legends in Sassanian Pahlavi, an approximate date in 627 A.D. on the basis of its close resemblance to the coinage issued by king Khusru II Perviz of Persia in the 37th year of his reign. He further holds that these coins were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties ....ruling over Sind and Multan." [51]

A study of these coins has led Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to a different conclusion and on this basis he is inclined to assign a Khazar origin to the Chāhamānas. He tells us : "The Nāgarī legend referred to by Prof. Rapson consists of two parts: one, Śrī Vahman to right and the other, Vāsudeva to left. There is another type of this king's coins, the legends on which are important. On the obverse the legend is in the Sassanian-Pahlavi, and reads Saf Varsu Tef-Śrī Vāsudeva-in the inner circle to right, and, on the margin, Saf Varsu Tef-Vahmana X Multan Malkā, meaning Śrī Vāsudeva Vahmana, king of Multan.

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[51] Rapson's Indian Coins. p. 30.

"On the reverse we have Śrī Vāsudeva in Nāgarī characters and the Pahlavi legend, Tukān Zaulistān Sapardalakshān=Ṭakka, Zabulistan and Sapādalaksha." He further opines; "The word Vahmana is commonly taken to be equivalent to Bahmana, and Vāsudeva is consequently supposed to have reigned at Bahmanvāsi= Brahmanābāda in Sind. But Vahmana does not here stand as the name of a city or province. We have just seen that one type of Vāsudeva's coins have simply Śrī Vahmana, and not Tukān Zaulistān or Sapardalakshān. Again we have no such word as Malkā here to denote that Vāsudeva was the ruler of Vahmana. It must be the name of the family or tribe to which Vāsudeva belonged."[52]

Dr. Bhandarkar then tries to find out the name of the family to which Śrī Vāsudeva Vahman, the king of Multan, pertained, and the arguments he puts forward in favour of his identification may be summarised as follows :—Firstly, he reads the word Vahman as Chahman on the ground that the letters 'Va' and 'Cha' were easily mistaken for each other in old days. This Chahman is further lengthened into Chāhamāna which he calls 'the correct reading'. Next he tells us that 'since Vāsudeva is mentioned in the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya as the founder of the Chāhamāna family of Śākambharī, that founder must be the same as the Chahmana (Vahman) of these Sassanian coins.' And although the Prabandha Kośa assigns the date V. E. 608 (551 A.D.) to Vāsudeva, the Chāhamāna prince of Śākambharī, he calls this date 'rather early', and according to him 'the proper date to be assigned to him appears to be 627 A.D.' In the end he abruptly concludes by calling him a prince of Khazar Origin.[53]

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[52] IA, vol. XL, p. 25.

Here the facts have been either apparently ignored or twisted to suit a particular view. In fact the letters 'Cha' and 'Va' may have been similar in Nāgarī characters in the 7th century, but not so in Sassanian-Pahlavi characters, and here on the coins in question the use of the letter 'va' in both Nāgarī as well as Sassanian-Pahlavi characters only confirms its correct reading. Thus his entire theory, on this ground alone, loses all its force. Further, the change from Vahman to Chahman and finally to Chāhamāna is absolutely uncalled for, for no where in the Chāhamāna records, official or otherwise, the Chāhamāna prince Vāsudeva or, for the matter of that, any other prince of the family, is said to have held his sway over Multan including the territories of Ṭakka[54] and Zabulistan.[55] In early days the Chāhamāna principality comprised only the territory known as Śākambharī in central Rajasthan and certainly it could not be so extensive as the coins in question indicate. The two princes, bearing the same name, are evidently two separate identities who ruled over different parts of the country and were separated from each other by about three quarters of a century.

The two names, Vāsudeva and Sapādalaksha, particularly the latter, appear to be the cause of this delusion here. The Kumāra Khanda of the Skanda Purāṇa[56] contains a list of the countries in India and we find there that at least six[57] of them were known as Sapādalaksha. Al Masudi, an Arab Geographer of the 10th century, informs us that the region round Multan contained one hundred and twenty thousand villages and towns.[58] Hence this part of the country may also have been known as Sapādalaksha. If it be so, it must be differentiated from the Sayambhara (Śākambharī) Sapādalaksha which lay in the heart of Rajasthan.

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[53] ibid. Vol. XL, p. 25

[54] The country between the Beas and the Indus in the Punjab was called Ṭakka.

[55] The region round Ghazni was known as Zabulistan.

Here we may also note that the name of prince Vāsudeva[59] appears on both sides of the coins; but whereas on the obverse he is called 'Multan Malkā', the king of Multan, the reverse, containing Ṭakka, Zabulistān and Sapādalaksha, seems to describe only the component parts of his kingdom. Thus the absence of the word Multan on the reverse appears to lend support to our view that the Sapādalaksha of the coins probably stands for the region round about Multan and is not identical with the Sapādalaksha country of Śākambharī.

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[56] The Skanda Purāṇa is assigned a date in the 9th or 10th century A.D. Vaidya ; HMHI, vol. II, pp. 39-42.

[57] Varendu, Sayambhara, Mewāḍa, Tomara, Karnāṭa and Pingala were known as Sapādalaksha countries, each containing a hundred and twenty-five thousand villages and towns.

[58] Elliot, vol. I, p. 23.

[59] The Indian name Vāsudeva on the other hand, is a familiar one in the North-Western India in foreign dynasties as well, and some of the Kushan kings were known by this name. The word Vahman may be more correctly read as Bahman which is a common name in Persian history. Even Alauddin Bahman Shah, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty of the Deccan (1347-1526 A.D.) 'in consequence of his descent was known as Bahman,' The use of the Indian prefix Śrī and the Nāgarī characters along with the Sassanian Pahlavi on the coins indicates the mutual transfusion of both the cultures which was but natural, for the borders of the Sassanain kingdom of Persia touched the kingdom of Multan which extended at least up to Zabulistan in that direction. This further explains the close resemblance of the coins of the king of Multan with those of his contemporary Persian monarch.

VI The Theory of the Brahmanic Origin

Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar and Mr. Ranjit Singh Satyashraya put forward yet another theory of the Brahmanic origin of the Chāhamānas. The former holds that, as Sāmanta, an early Chāhamāna prince, is said to have been a Brāhmaṇa of Śrī Vatsagotra in the Bijaulia Rock Inscription,[60] he was really a convert and his family belonged to a priestly class of some foreign tribe, which, afterwards, merged into the Kshatriya caste by changing their priestly pursuits for martial ones.[61]

Mr. Satyashraya, however, goes still further and identifies Vāsudeva Vahman of the Sassanian coins with Chacha, the founder of the Brāhmaṇa dynasty of Sindh in 642 A.D. and, taking the Chāhamāna prince Vāsudeva as identical with Chacha, he argues ; "There is no doubt that Chacha was a Brāhmaṇa of Indian origin. So the Chauhans are really Brāhmaṇa of Indian origin."[62] The Vatsagotra of the Chāhamānas, according to him, also indicates a Brahmanic origin, for Vatsa Rishi belonged to a family the progenitor of which, Bhrigu, was a Brāhmaṇa.[63]

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[60] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, Part I, pp. 41-43, Verse 12.

[61] IA, vol. XL, p. 26.

[62] Satyashraya ; Origin of the Chaulukyas, p. 75, footnote.

Now as regards the identification of Chacha with Vāsudeva Vahman and finally with the Chāhamāna prince Vāsudeva, we may discard it straightway on the ground shown above that the Vāsudeva Vahman of the Sassanian coins had nothing to do with the Chāhamāna prince Vāsudeva of Śākambharī. But the use of the term 'Vipra' in verse 12 of the Bijaulia Rock inscription,[64] dated 1170 A.D., is open to various interpretations and hence it deserves our consideration. This verse is generally translated as follows : " There was a Brāhmaṇa of Śrī Vatsa Gotra formerly in Ahichchhatrapura. From him was (descended or born) king Sāmanta of many Sāmantas or Sardars."[65]

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[63] ibid.

[64] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, Part I, pp. 41-43.

[65] Vaidya : HMHI, vol. II, p. 93.

Mr. A.K. Vyas translates the verse as follows ;

" Formerly a Vipra named Sāmanta having numerous feudatory princes was born or descended in the Vasta gotra at Ahichchhatrapura."

However, while explaining the word Vipra, he gives his opinion on the origin of the family.

" The use of the term Vipra in conncection with a ruling prince decidedly of the Kshatriya stock is found not only in this inscription but also in many others of various ruling dynasties where the princes are sometimes called Vipra and sometimes Mahideva." He further concludes that such usage has nothing to do with the origin or blood of the princes and seems to have some bearing on their divine habits which they might

This term 'Vipra', however, does not appear to stand here separately to mean a Brāhmaṇa but probably to qualify Śrī Vatsa (Vipra Śrī Vatsa gotra), for it means a Brāhmaṇa as well as a Rishi.[66] Consequently the verse in question may be translated as follows : "Formerly in the gotra of Śrī Vatsa Rishi was born at Ahichchhatrapura (king) Sāmanta (rāja) who had many Sāmantas or Sardars."..And, as Vatsa or his progenitor Bhrigu belonged to the priestly class of the Aryans (for there were no castes then) of the Solar race, the logical inference is that Sāmantarāja, being born in Śrī Vatsa gotra, belonged to the Solar race of the Aryans. He was, however, not necessarily a Brāhmaṇa, for the Vedic Rishis are said to be the progenitors of all the three classes of the Aryans, viz, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. Moreover, the word Gotra indicated in later times a line of preceptors and not a line of ancestors, specially in case of the Varṇas other than the Brāhmaṇas. It is also likely that the word 'Vipra' meaning a Brāhmaṇa might have been used by the author of the Bijaulia Rock inscription with a view to explaining the Vatsa Gotra of the Chāhamānas. Hence the theory of the Brahmanic origin of the Chāhamānas is equally untenable.

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have acquired. He fruther goes on to say that 'Vipra may have been used here for Mahideva, 'a ruling prince', who, in the present case, as we know from other sources, was a Kshatriya of the Solar race.' (EI, vol. XXVI, pp. 89 and 90.)

[66] Naighanṭava, 3, 15. Here 'Vipra' means a Brāhmaṇa, a priest as well as a singer of hymns, a seer and a sage; and it has been used in the latter sense in the Rigveda, 1,22,21 and 1,165,46.

VII The Theory of the Lunar Origin

Some more recent historians like Dr. G. H. Ojha[67] and Mr. Harnam Singh Chauhan[68] assign a Lunar origin to the Chāhamānas. The bases of the theory of the former are two inscriptions of the family. The first is the Mount Abu inscription of 1320. A.D. which tells us that when the Solar and Lunar races had come to an end, the holy Vatsa, with the help of the Moon, created a new race of warriors, the Chāhamāna race.[69] But here we clearly see that the author of the inscription attaches no importance either to the Lunar race which is said to have come to an end, or to the Moon whose help alone has been sought. It is the sage Vatsa who brings about the creation and consequently finds a prominent place. This is so because the Chāhamānas belong to the Vatsa Gotra.

The second is the Hansi stone inscription of Prithvīrāja II, of which the passage in question has been translated by Prof. Wilson as "born in the race of the descendants of the Moon."[70] But Col. James Tod translates the same passage as "sprung of the race of Chāhamāna."[71] The stone is, however, missing and 'with the witnesses on either side in their graves' it is difficult to arbitrate between these two authorities.

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[67] Ojha ; Sirohī Kā Itihāsa, pp. 155-162. He, however, seems to have changed his views later on and finally accepted their Solar origin. Ojha ; History of Rajputana, vol. I, second ed. pp. 72-73.

[68] Aryan Vijaya pp. 480-82.

[69] EI, vol. IX, pp. 79-81, verses 6-10.

[70] Asiatic Researches, vol. XV, p. 444.

[71] Transactions of the R.A.S. vol. I, p. 154.

Mr. Harnam Singh Chauhan connects the Chāhamāna family with that of the celebrated king Drupada of Panchāla and holds that as the epic king was born in the Lunar race, the descendants of Sāmantadeva (Sāmantarāja) of Ahichchhatrapura, who was a scion of the Panchāla family, also belonged to the same race.[72] But the mere association of the Chāhamānas with Ahichchhatrapura (the location of which is also a controversial issue) is not sufficient justification for connecting them with Drupada, an ancient king of that part of the country. Morever, the Chāhamānas nowhere in their records claim to have descended from the Lunar race and hence we may safely ignore this theory.

VIII Conclusion

We have examined the various theories regarding the origin of the Chāhamānas and have seen that the Agnikula theory-itself a cause of many other theories-is a myth and does not help us in the least in determining the origin of the clan. This theory was certainly advanced, not to give recognition to foreigners in the Kshatriya rank, but only to claim a heroic descent for the Chāhamānas and others. Beyond this it has apparently no other value and hence, as a means to solve this problem, it is useless.

The Chāhamānas do not belong to the stock of foreigners entering India during the early centuries of the Christian era and, as discussed above, this theory of foreign extraction is based mostly on misrepresentation of facts and historical generalisation. This clan does not belong to the Lunar or the Yādava race of Kshatriyas either, for no such origin is claimed in the records of the family. The view attributing to the clan a Brahmanic or Sassanian origin, is equally erroneous. It is more reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Chāhamānas are the descendants of the Solar race of the Aryans. All the epigraphic evidence as well as the early literary records of the family, which we have already examined, credit Chāhamāna, after whom the family derives it name, as either having been born of the Sun or coming out of his orb. This allegorical expression clearly indicates that the Chāhamānas belonged to the Solar race of the Kshatriyas. The association of this clan with the sage Vatsa further confirms this view, for Vatsa and his progenitor Bhrigu are known to have belonged to the Solar race of the Aryans.

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[72] Aryan Vijaya, pp. 480-82.

Moreover, traditions coming down since time immemorial also confirm the claim of the Chāhamānas that they are an ancient people of indigenous origin. Customs like the worship of Devakula (family deity) prevalent among the Kshatriyas even before the Christian era[73], are still observed by this clan. Preservation of such old customs unmistakably indicates their close affinity with the Aryan blood of this land.

The so-called sudden emergence of the Chāhamānas along with other Rajput dynasties has caused surprise to a certain class of historians like Smith[74] and others. But there is apparently no cause for surprise, for the ruling families of the country have never been extinct though they were suppressed or subjugated for a time and under favourable circumstances they rose up again to their original status. Hence their disappearance alone would have been surprising, because during no period of our recorded history the Kshatriya population of the country as a class is said to have gone out of existence.

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[73]. Ojha ; History of Rajputana, vol. I, p. 59-60.

[74]. Smith ; Early History of India, (2nd ed. 1908) pp. 373 ff.

The cradle land of the Chāhamānas as a power in the political life of India was the region round Sambhar and Ajmer.[75] But before their emergence, this portion of the country was inhabited by the Mālavas who, when hard-pressed by the Bactrian Greeks and, later on, by the Kushanas, had migrated from their ancestral home in the Ravi-Satlej doab to the central part of Rajasthan (Ajmer-Tonk-Mewar area) and had settled there by the 1st century A.D[76]. The greatest virtues of these people were their love of freedom, adherence to the highest ideals of chivalry and heroism and their determination to uphold the ancient traditions of their race against the attacks of foreigners. But in the middle of the 4th century A.D. they were suddenly overpowered by the mighty arms of Samudragupta who reduced them to submission and during the reign of his son and successor, Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, who was an imperialist to the core, their territories were incorporated into the Gupta empire.

As a people, however, they were hardly suppressed or destroyed and with the fall of the Gupta empire they appeared again on the scene under different names. Their long association with the indigenous monarchy had no doubt damped their republican spirit which they had successfully preserved for centuries against foreign invasions, but their racial virtues were still intact and they struggled hard to regain their freedom against the barbarains of the north in the last quarter of the 5th and the early part of the 6th century A.D. They maintained their glorious traditions of the past and when the Hūṇa menace was over, they established themselves in different localities as independent powers.

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[75] PV. IV, 1-89 and V, 1-5.

[76] A New History of the Indian People, vol. VI, p. 33.

It is highly probable that the Chāhamānas who carved out for themselves a principality round Sambhar and Ajmer in the middle of the 6th century A.D., are one of these people and Col. Tod actually refers to the Mallanis, one of the twenty-four branches of the Chāhamānas,[77] as identical with the ancient Mālavas who 'opposed Alexander at the confluent arms of the Indus.'[78] The chief characteristics of the Chāhamānas as a people are strikingly similar to those of the ancient republicans while the change from republic to monarchy in their political life was only in keeping with the spirit of the age. Like the Mālavas, the Chāhamānas occupy a high place in history for their chivalry and heroism, the staunchness of their faith and, above all, the persistence of their struggle against foreign rule. We learn from the Nandsā Yupa inscription that the Mālavas claimed a descent from Ikshvāku, a king of the Solar race.[79] Similarly a Solar origin is traced in the Chāhamāna genealogies. This may confirm their affinity of blood and they appear to be one and the same people.

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[77] 24 Branches ; Chauhan, Hārā, Khīchī, Sonigirā, Deorā, Pabiā Sānchora, Goelwal, Bhadauria, Nirvan, Mallani, Purbia, Surā, Madrechā, Sankrechā, Bhurech, Balechā, Tasera, Chachera, Rosia, Chanda, Nikumbha, Bhawar, and Bankat.

Tod ; AAR, (crook ed.) vol. I, p. 115.

[78] The Mallānī tribe of the Chāhamānas is extinct and was so little known even five centuries ago, that a prince of Boondi, of Hārā tribe, intermarried with a Mallānī, the book of genealogical affinities not indicating her being within the prohibited canon. A more skilful bard pointed out the incestuous connection when divorce and expiation ensued. Tod ; AAR, (Calcutta ed. 1877) vol. II p. 385, footnote.

We may, in the light of these facts, conclude that the Chāhamānas, as a people, belong to the ancient Kshatriya stock of the Solar race and through them the old traditions of the race have been preserved to this day.

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[79] A New History of the Indian People, vol. VI, p. 34.

CHAPTER III

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

I Genealogy

Almost all the sources dealing with the history of the early Chāhamānas agree that the clan was so named after its founder Chāhamāna, though they are silent about his original settlement as well as the age in which he was born. We, however, come across one Abhyavartin Chāyamāna in the Rigveda, who is referred to in the Dāna Stuti (Praise of Gifts) as conqueror of Vrīchivants under their leader Varaśikha,[1] He is said to be a Pārthava, a descendant of Prithu[2]. This Vedic Chāyamāna appears to be a close approach to the name Chāhamāna,[3] and one is therefore, tempted to regard them as identical[4]. But mere similarity in name, however, is not enough to link them together[5]. In fact had this Chāhamāna, from whom this family derives its name, been born as early as the Rigveda, he or his descendants must have been referred to in subsequent periods. But their absence only proves their non-existence as a clan in early times.

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[1] Rigveda, VI, 27,8,5; Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 29

[2] Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 29.

[3] As 'Ya' is often changed into 'ha', we can easily have Chāhamāna from the word Chāyamāna.

[4] Mr. Satyāśraya holds that Abhyavartin Chāyamāna belonged to the Bhrigu family and as the Chauhans of the Vatsa Gotra also belong to the Bhrigu family of the Aryan race, he thinks that it is highly probable that the Chāyamāna of the Rigveda is the Chāhamāna of the Chauhan traditions.

Origin of the Chaulukyas, pp. 74-75, Foot note.

[5] This may serve at least one purpose that the name Chāhamāna is as old as the Vedas and that it has indigenous origin.

The Prithvīrāja Vijaya speaks of the descent of Chāhamāna from the orb of the Sun to drive away the Mlechchhas who caused death and destruction in the country.[6] Here Chāhamāna's descent from the orb of the Sun may indicate his connection with the famous Solar race of the Kshatryias and the term Mlechchha[7] may refer to the Hūṇa's invasion of the country towards the end of the 5th and the early 6th centuries A. D.

Jayānaka, however, gives a poetic interpretation of the name of this progenitor who is said to have been called Chāhamāna because be held a bow (Chāpa) in his hands, was always, through knowledge, in communion with god (Hari), maintained by sheer strength his honour and prestige (Māna) and was ever guided in state craft (Naya) by his ministers.[8] From this description we may infer that as these are the attributes of a king, Chāhamāna was the first prince of the line, who acquired for himself a territory to rule over. We are further told that his younger brother Dhananjaya served him as his commander-in-chief.[9]

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[6] PV, II, 8.

[7] In fact the application of the term Mlechchha by the Hindus has been very vague and it was loosely applied to foreigners to whatever race or religion they belonged as well as to those who did not follow the Brahmanical religion. As the Chāhamānas came into prominence in the 6th or 7th Century A.D., it is highly probable that the term Mlechchha stands here for the Hūṇas who invaded the country during the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. and were dominant till about the middle of the 6th Century A.D.

[8] करेण चापस्य हरेर्मनीषया वलेन मानस्य नयस्य मंत्रिभिः ।
धृतस्य नामाग्रिमवर्णं निर्मितां स चाहमानो यमिति प्रथांययौ ॥ PV, II,44.

Our sources of information regarding the early Chāhamānas are very scanty. An inscription dated V. E. 813 (756 A.D.), which belongs to the Chāhamāna family of Broach,[10] takes their genealogy back for six generations (c. 600 A.D.), But the exact relation between this family and the main dynasty which held its sway over the Sambhar region has not as yet been determined.

The earliest source of information, therefore, for the main dynasty is still the Harsha stone inscription of V. E. 1030 (973 A. D.).[11] This inscription takes the genealogy only for six generations back to Gūvaka I. The much later Bijaulia rock inscription, dated V. E. 1226 (1070 A. D.)[12] of the time of king Someśvara, which gives us a list of twenty-seven kings, is more helpful in this respect. It supplies the desideratum, removes much of the uncertainties, and enables us in fixing the genealogy almost correctly.

The genealogy as supplied by the Prithvīrāja Vijaya[13] has been found on comparison to be historically correct having full support from inscriptions. Our other sources of information are some literary works of later writers which, though quite useful otherwise, are rather defective and, to a certain extent, unreliable also in respect of genealogy. They are the Prabandha Kośa of Rājaśekhara Sūri, the Hammīra Mahākāvya of Nayachandra Sūri, the Purātana Prabandha-Sangraha[14] and the Surjana Charita of Chandraśekhara. There are some still later works like the Prithvīrāja Rāso and the Vaṁśa-Bhāskara of Suraja Malla Mishraṇa which, from the view-point of genealogy, however, are practically useless.

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[9] ibid, II, 63-64.

[10] EI, vol. XII, pp. 197-204.

[11] IA, 1913, pp. 57-64 ; EI, vol. II, pp. 115-30.

[12] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, part I, pp. 14 ff., EI, vol. XXVI, pp. 83 ff.

[13] A copy of this work was discovered in 1875 A. D. in Kashmir by Dr. Buhler (JBBRAS, 1877, Extra No. XXXIV A, p. 63) and the genealogy as contained in it was first published by Mr. Morrison (Vienna Oriental Journal, vol, VII, pp. 188-92).

A comparative study of the genealogies contained in these works reveals that, as time passed on, the historicity in literary works gradually decayed. In cases of contradiction, therefore, ealier works, epigraphic as well as literary, are doubtless to be preferred, for they contain more accuracy and are consequently more reliable.

The Bijaulia rock inscription, the Prithvīrāja Vijaya, the Hammīra Mahākāvya and the Prabandha Kośa agree to trace the genealogy of the family from the common progenitor Chāhamāna. Some scholars, however, treat him as a fabulous and unhistorical person on the basis of the interpretation of the tenth verse of the Bijaulia rock inscription[15] of which the expression " Śrī Chāhamāna kshitirājavanśah" they explain as a "royal or princely dynasty known as chāhamāna." Consequently they begin the genealogy with Sāmantadeva.[16] But Mr. A. K. Vyas seems to be more correct in his approach to the interpretation of the compound in question which he explains as "the family of the illustrious prince Chāhamāna."[17] With the help of the next verse of the same inscription he further strengthens his proposition and rightly holds that the word Chāhamāna is used as the name of a prince and not a mere family title.[18] This latest interpretation is more convincing, for it is in accordance with the evidence of other sources. Moreover, this view finds full confirmation from the evidence of the recently discovered Barla Stone inscription (unpublished), dated 1178 AD.,. of the time of king Prithvīrāja III which traces the genealogy of this family from Chāhamāna who is called a hero of yore sprung from Vīrochana.[19] We may, therefore, treat Chāhamāna as the founder of the family which later on came to be called the 'Chāhamāna-Vanśa' after him.

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[14] SJGM, vol. II.

[15] JASB, 1886, vol LV, part I, p. 41.

We learn from the Prithvīrāja Vijaya that in the family of Chāhamāna was born prince Vāsudeva, the king of Śākambharī.[20] This work is, however, silent regarding their exact relationship. According to the Hammīra Mahākāvya, king Dīkshita Vāsudeva, who was like god Vishṇu on earth, is said to have descended from Chāhamāna.[21] Mr. A. K. Vyas interprets the

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16. JRAS, 1913, p. 270; ibid, vol. V, App. p. 22, No. 154; DHNI, vol. II p. 1061-62 and 1081-82; Vaidya, HMHI, vol. II p.91.
17. EI, 1941, p. 88.
18. ibid, p. 88.
19. This inscription is deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
20. PV, III, 82.
21. HM, I, 26-27.

name Vishṇu in the eleventh verse of the Bijaulia rock inscription as a variant of Vāsudeva.[22] This identification appears to be quite probable especially when we take into consideration the author's curious fondness for using variants for proper names both geographical as well as genealogical[23]. The use of the words 'tatopi Vishṇoh' in the verse is significant.[24] for they indicate that the author probably meant to place a prince called Vishṇu, in the lineage of Chāhamāna. Thus it is evident that after Chāhamāna came prince Vāsudeva who was the king of Śākambharī.

Vāsudeva was succeeded by Sāmantarāja (Deva). It is, however, still a matter of guess as to in what relation they stood to each other. But it appears quite likely that there was an interval between Vāsudeva, the founder of the family at Śākambharī, and Sāmantarāja and that this interval was devoid of any significance in the history of the family.[25] Whatever may be the reason, Sāmantarāja probably rescued the family from destruction and placed it once again on firm foundations. In this connection we may note a tradition which runs that when in (V) S. 741 (684 A. D.) Dūlā Rāi, the Chauhan king of Ajmer, was slain, his younger brother Mānika Rāi fled being pursued by his foes. He ultimately took possession of the land near lake Sambhar through the assistance of goddess

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[22] EI, 1941, pp. 88

[23] ibid, p. 103, verse 11.

[24] ibid, pp. 102-112.

[25] Was it due to the rising power of the Pushyabhūtis at Thaneswar and later on at Kanauj ?

Sākambharī.[26] As this Mānika Rāi has been expressly mentioned here as the saviour of the family after the death of Dūlā Rāi in 684 A. D. he may be identical with Sāmantarāja who has been placed after Vāsudeva in the genealogical tree of the family. Further, we may identify the Māṇikya Rāi of an unpublished plate of the Nadol Chāhamānas[27], who is called there as the progenitor of the Chāhamāna line, with this very prince Sāmantarāja, for the connected history of the family begins with this prince and not with Vāsudeva who flourished perhaps a few generations earlier.

According to the Bijaulia rock inscription Sāmantarāja's son and successor was Pūrṇatalla[28], while the Prabandha Kośa calls his successor as Naradeva. It appears that both Pūrṇatalla[29] and Naradeva are indentical and that probably due to short and insignificant rule he finds no mention in the Prithvīrāja Vijaya. We come across the name of Naradeva in the Hammīra Mahākāvya[30] Surjana Charita[31] and the Purātana Prabandha Sangraha[32] also where he has been placed after Vāsudeva.

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[26] Tod ; AAR, vol. II p. 490 (Cal ed.)

[27] I.H.Q., December, 1940, p. 743.

[28] JASB, vol. LV, part 1, p. 41, verse 12.

[29] Dr. Dasharath Sharma, however, is of the opinion that Pūrṅatalla was the name not of a prince but of a locality in formerJodhpur State (Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 24 f.n. 8). But this view appears to be untenable, for the Jodhpur region was during this period under the occupation of the Pratīhāras of Marwar and the Chāhamāna principality lay to the east of it.

[30] I.A. vol. VIII, pp. 55-73.

[31] NPP (new ed.), vol. 46, part III, pp. 206-15.

[32] SJGM, vol. II, p. 102.

Naradeva was succeeded on the throne by his brother Ajayarāja I[33] who, on his own turn was succeeded by his son Vigraharāja. I[34] The latter had two sons, namely Chandrarāja I and Gopendrarāja who ruled one after the other after Vigraharaja I.[35] Gopendrarāja was succeeded by his nephew Durlabharāja I, the son of Chandrarāja I[36], whose son and successor was Govindarāja I[37] But, according to the Bijaulia rock inscription, the next prince in order of succession was Gūvaka I[38] and the Harsha stone inscription also calls the prince by the same name.[39] Scholars are unanimous to treat both the names as identical and Gūvaka appears to be a local form of the name Govinda (raja).[40]

The Prithvīrāja Vijaya, the Prabandha Kośa and the Harsha stone inscription agree that Chandrarāja II succeeded his father Gūvaka I. on the throne.[41] The Bijaulia rock inscription, however, gives a variant of

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33. Prabandha Kośa, SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133, He is also called Jayarāja (PV, III, 8) and Jayapāla Chakrī (H. M. I, 41-52 and also I.A. vol. VIII, pp. 55-73).
34. EI, vol. XXVI, 1941, pp. 83 FF. PV, V, 11-14; SJGM, vol. VI p. 133, App. 2.
35. PV, V 15-17.
36. ibid, V, 18-20.
37. ibid, V 21.
38. JASB, 1886, vol. LV, part I, p. 41
39. I.A. 1913, p. 58.
40. Major Erskine has, however omitted the name of this prince from the genealogical list of kings of this dynasty although it is expressly mentioned in inscriptions and historical works. Rajputana Gazeteer, vol. III B, p. 5.
41. PV, V,22; SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133, IA, 1913, p. 58.

this name and calls him Śaśinripa.[42] Chandrarāja's son and successor was Gūvaka II.[43] After him came to the throne his son Chandanarāja[44] who was succeeded by his son Vākpatirāja I,[45] also known as Vappayarāja[46] as well as Mānika-rāi.[47]

The next king in order of succession was Simharāja, the eldest son of Vākpatirāja I.[48] In the opinion of some scholars the immediate successor of Vākpatirāja was Vindhyanripati,[49] but this interpretation of Vindhyanripati is not acceptable to Mr. H. B. Sharda[50] and Dr. H. C. Ray.[51] Vindhyanripati may have been a mere title of Vākpatirāja I, for he ruled the region round about Bijaulia in Mewar which was then known as Vindhyāvatī.[52] Simharāja had two more brothers. The one was known as Vatsarāja[53] while the other was called Lakshmaṇarāja. The latter migrated to Naḍḍūla in Marwar and established a separate dynasty there.[54]

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[42]. JASB, 1886, vol. LV, part I, p. 41, verse. (Śaśi Chandra, Nripa Rājā) .

[43]. PV. V, 23-32.

[44]. ibid. 5, 33-39.

[45]. ibid, V, 40-43.

[46]. JASB, 1886, vol. LV part I, p. 41, verse 13.

[47]. Raj. Gaz. vol. III, part II, table XL, p. 65.

[48]. PV. V, 44-46.

[49]. EI, 1941, p. 91; Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 51, No. 381.

[50]. JRAS, 1913, p. 270.

[51]. DHNI, vol. II, p. 1063.

[52]. MNK, vol. II, pp. 104-5 fn. 2.

[53]. IA, 1913, p. 60.

[54]. SJGM, vol. II pp. 101-2, EI, vol. IX, pp. 67 & 71.

Simharāja was succeeded by his eldest son Vigraharāja II.[55] The latter had three more brothers namely Durlabharāja,[56]. Govindarāja and Chandanarāja[57]. After Vigraharāja II came to the throne his younger brother Durlabharāja II[58] who in his own turn was succeeded by the next brother Govindarāja II,[59] also called Gandu in the Bijaulia rock inscription[60] as well as in the Prabandha Kośa.[61] The Prithvirāja Vijaya, however, calls him the son of Durlabharāja II.[62] But this cannot be accepted in the face of the Harsha stone inscription inscribed in the reign of his own brother Vigraharāja. II[63]

Govindarāja II's son and successor was Vākpatirāja II[64] who was succeeded by his son Vīryarāma.[65] The next in succession was his younger brother Chāmuṇḍarāja[66] who may be identified with Dharmādhirāja of the Bikaner Fort Library recension of the Prithvīrāja Raso[67], for this prince was well known for his many pious activities.[68] According to the Bijaulia rock inscription his successor was Simhaṭa[69] and this view is accepted by Dr. Bhandarkar[70] and Prof. Kielhorn as well.[71] The Prithvīrāja Vijaya informs us, on the other hand, that Durlabharāja alias Vīrasimha succeeded Chāmuṇḍarāja.[72] It seems quite likely that Simhaṭa, like Vīrasimha, might have been an epithet of Durlabharāja III who was also known as Dusala[73] and Dusaladeva[74].

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[55] PV, V, 47-53.

[56] ibid, V, 54.

[57] IA, 1913, p. 60.

[58] PV, V, 54-55.

[59] IA, 1913, p. 60.

[60] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, part I P. 41, verse 13.

[61] SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133.

[62] PV, V, 56-57.

[63] IA, 1913, pp. 57-64; EI, vol. II pp. 115-30.

[64] PV V, 58. Mr. A. K. Vyas (EI, 1941, p. 92) and Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar (List of Inscriptions of northern India, p. 51 No. 381) take Vīryarāma to be the son of Govindarāja II.

[65] PV, V, 65.

[66] PV, V, 68.

[67] IHQ. December, 1940, P 742.

[68] PV. V, 68

He was succeeded by his younger brother Vigraharāja III[75] known as Vīsala[76] and Vīsaladeva.[77] His son and succeesor was Prithvīrāja. I[78] who may be identified with Sāranga of the Prithvīraja Raso.[79]

The son and successor of Prithviraja I was king Ajayarāja II, the variant of whose name, according to the Prithvīrāja Vijaya, was Salhaṇa.[80] He is also known as Jayadeva[81], and Allaṇadeva[82] or Ālhaṇadeva.[83]

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[69] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, part I pp, 41-43 verse 14.

[70] List of Inscriptions of northern India, p. 51, No. 381.

[71] EI, vol. II p. 117.

[72] PV, V, 69-70.

[73] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, part I p. 41-43 verse 14.

[74] Prabandha Kośa, SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133.

[75] PV, V, 71-78.

[76] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, part I, p. 41, verse 14.

[77] HM. II, 33-37.

[78] PV, V, 79-82.

[79] IHQ. December, 1940, p. 743.
Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar takes Prithvīrāja I to be the son of Durlabharāja III. List of Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 51, No. 381.

[80] PV, V, 83-84.

[81] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, part I, p. 41, verse 14.

[82] SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133.

[83] HM. II, 41-44. Dr. Dasharath Sharma identifies the two names Analla and Jayasimha of the Prithvirāja Rāso with this king. IHQ, Dec. 1940, p. 744.

He was followed on the throne by his son Arṇorāja[84] the variants of whose name are Analladeva, Āṇaka, Āṇāka and Āṇā.[85] He is also identified with king Ānanda of the Prithvīrāja Rāso.[86]

Arṇorāja had four sons of whom the three were born of the Marwar queen Sudhavā and the fourth son Someśvara, of the Gurjara princess Kānchanadevī.[87] The eldest son of the queen Sudhavā, though omitted by the Bijaulia rock inscription, was named Jagaddeva.[88] He was a parricide and was removed from the throne by his younger brother Vigraharaja IV.[89] The next king after Vigraharāja was his minor son Aparagāngeya who appears to have died young[90] and was succeeded by Prithvīrāja II or Prithvībhaṭa, the son of the parricide Jagaddeva.[91]

King Someśwara succeeded Prithviraja II on the throne.[92] His son and successor was Prithvīrāja III.[93] The Gwalior, Kamaon and Garhwal Manuscripts place the names of Jāhirdeva and Nāgadeva or Jagadeva between those of Someśvara and Prithvīrāja[94] as kings of Delhi. But these two persons appear to have been

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84. PV, V, 192-93.
85. NPP, (new ed.) vol. I, p. 393.
86. IHQ. Dec. 1940, p. 744.
87. PV, VI, 31, and 34.
88. HM. II, 52-55 and SJGM, vol. VI p. 133.
89. PV. VIII, 55; Sharda ; Speeches and Writings, p. 248.
90. PV, VIII, 54.
91. ibid, VIII, 56.
92. PV. VIII, 57-102.
93. ibid, IX, 12.
94. Cunningham, Arch, Sur. Reports 1862-63, vol. I, pp. 157-58.

tributary rulers of Delhi under Prithvīrāja III as lord paramount. When Prithvīrāja III lost his life after the fateful battle of Tarain, his young son Govindarāja III was made a puppet king of Ajmer by Shahab-ud-Din Ghori.[95] But his uncle Harirāja dethroned him and seated himself on the throne of Ajmer.[96] Soon after his occupation Harirāja was defeated by the Muslims and he finally put an end to his life in fire while Govindarāja migrated to Ranthambhore where he established a new line of kings after him.[97]

II Chronology

The fixation of dates of accession and reign periods of the rulers of the Chāhamāna family is a difficult problem, for we have practically no material for most of the kings of this dynasty. However, majority of the sources agree that Chāhamāna was the first prince of this branch to whom this illustrious family owes its name, but unfortunately none of them helps us in assigning a correct date for this prince, nor have we any knowledge as to how many generations passed between him and Vāsudeva, one of his descendants for whom we have a definite date.

It is, however, highly probable that Chāhamāna was born sometime during the confusion and chaos that followed the downfall and decay of the Gupta Empire after the Hūṇa invasion of India in the latter half of the fifth or early sixth century A.D. The emergence of the family at this time in the region of Sambhar and Ajmer where they held their sway for hundreds of years, perhaps indicates their successful struggle against the Hūṇa rulers who had established themselves in the North-West of India and who had achieved considerable notoriety for their oppressive rule. This struggle against the foreigners and the valorous part played therein by Chāhamāna appear to have achieved for him considerable fame which ultimately enabled him in giving his name to this family. It may, therefore, be assumed that Chāhamāna, the so-called legendary hero of the dynasty, was born and flourished in the latter part of the fifth and the early sixth centuries A.D.

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[95] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 216; HM, IV, 20-31.

[96] Elliot, vol. II, pp. 219-20.

[97] ibid, p. 226. HM, III, 73-82, IV, 1-19. and 20-31.

The Prabandha-Kośa gives V.E. 608 (551 A.D.) as the date for the next prince Vāsudeva.[1] Scholars are inclined to treat this date in the Śaka Era and thus they conclude that Vāsudeva was ruling at Sambhar in 686 A.D.[2] But, according to the testimony of Fèrishta the Chāhamānas appear to have been in possession ofAjmer even before 682 A.D.[3] Moreover, the Jain scholars have always used Vikrama Era in their writings, and particularly Rājaśekhara gives all other dates in the same genealogy in the V.E. It is unfair, therefore, to accept this date alone in the Śaka Era.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, observes that the date given in the Prabandha Kośa is 'rather early' and the proper date for this prince appears to be 627 A. D.[4] He has arrived at this conclusion with the help of certain Sassanian Coins, but, as already discussed above, we have discarded this view by showing that the Chāhamāna prince Vāsudeva of Śākambharī had nothing in common with the Sassanian prince Vāsudeva of Multan.[5] Consequently this date also, as suggested by the learned scholar, cannot hold good.

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[1] SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133.

[2] Bhārat Ke Prāchīna Rājavanśa, vol. I, p. 228.

[3] Arch. Sur. Reports, 1864-65, vol. II. p. 255.

[4] I. A. vol. XL, pp. 25-26,

But this is not the end of the difficulty and the possibility of finding out exact dates for the princes who ascended the throne after Vāsudeva is as remote as ever. We can only ascertain the date of the reign of prince Gūvaka I who was born in the 6th generation of Sāmantarāja. This prince, according to the Harsha stone inscription (973 A. D.), is said to have attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of prince Nāgāvaloka.[6] This latter prince has been identified with king Nāgabhaṭa II of the Pratīhāra line of Malwa and Kanauj and is said to have ruled from c. 805 to 833 A. D.[7] Thus Gūvaka I can be placed in the 1st quarter of the 9th century A. D.[8] Thus if we count back with an average of 25 years for each of the five generations before him, Sāmantarāja can be placed in the last quarter of the 7th century A. D. This agrees with the traditional date which puts Sāmantāraja (deva) soon after

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[5] Supra, pp. 35-39.

[6] EI, vol. II, pp. 116-30.

[7] IA, 1913, p. 58; Tripathi; History of Kanauj pp. 230 ff.

[8] Mr. H. B. Sharda holds that he must have flourished about 820 A.D. (Speeches and writings, p. 199, foot note 3.)
C. V. Vaidya, counting back from Vigraharaja II with the help of fifteen years for each reign, has placed Gūvaka I in 868 A.D, and Sāmantarāja in 778 A.D. (HMHI, vol. II, p. 94).

684 A. D. on the throne of Sāmbhar.[9] This may help us in fixing the Chāhamāna chronology from Sāmantarāja to Durlabharāja I, the immediate predecessor of Gūvaka I, as follows :—

Sāmantarāja	(c. 684—709 A. D.)
Naradeva	(c. 709—721 A. D.)
Ajayapāla[10]	(c. 721—734 A. D.)
Vigraharāja I	(c. 734—759 A. D.)
Chandrarāja I	(c. 759—771 A. D.)
Gopendrarāja	(c. 771—784 A. D.)
Durlabharāja I	(c. 784—809 A. D.)

King Vigraharāja II appears to have ascended the throne a year or two before 973 A. D., the date of the Harsha Stone inscription.[11] This gives an average reign period of 27 years for each of his six predecessors upto Gūvak I. Thus the reign period of each of the princes between Guvaka I and Simharāja, the immediate predecessor of Vigraharaja II can be approximately arranaged as follows :—

Gūvaka I	(c. 809—836 A. D.)
Chandrarāja II	(c. 836—863 A. D.)

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[9] Tod ; AAR, vol. II, p. 490 (cal. ed.) According to Rajputana Gazetteer, however, the Chāhamānas migrated to this part of the country (Sambhar region) from Ahichchhatrapura on the Ganga under prince Sāmantarāja sometimes during the middle of the 8th century A.D. (R. G., vol. III, p. 237).

[10] Naradeva and Ajayapāla, being in the same generation as brothers, a period of 25 years has been allotted to both of them combined. Similar is the case with Chandrarāja and Gopendrarāja, a generation later.

[11] E.I. vol.. II, pp. 116-30; I.A. 1913, pp. 57-64,

Gūvaka II	(c. 863—890 A. D.)
Chandanarāja	(c. 890—917 A. D.)
Vākpatirāja I	(c. 917—944 A. D.)
Simharāja	(c. 944—971 A. D.)

Vigraharāja II, the son and successor of Simharāja, appears to have ascended the throne in c. 971 A. D. Besides the Harsha stone inscription, dated 973 A. D.,[12] we have got the Sakarai stone inscription, dated V. E. 1055 (998 A. D)[13] of his reign. The Kinsariya grant of the reign of his brother and successor is dated V. E. 1056 (999 A. D.)[14] These inscriptions show that Vigraharāja II ruled for about 27 years and that he was succeeded on the throne probably in the year, 998 A. D., by his younger brother Durlabharāja II who was definitely on the throne in 999 A. D. as is testified by the Kinsariya grant of his reign.

The latter prince was followed on the throne by the next brother Govindarāja II. We know nothing either of the date of the death of Durlabharāja II or of that of the accession of his younger brother. The Prabandha Kośa, however, calls the latter the conqueror of Sultan Mahmud,[15] which is also borne out of Fèrishta who refers to the retreat of the Sultan from the siege of the fort (of Taragadh) in 1025 A. D. and his return to Ghazni by the route of Sindh in 1026 A. D. for fear of being opposed by the kings of Gujrat and Ajmer.[16] Govindrāja thus appears to have been on the throne at least upto 1026 A. D.

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[12] EI, vol. II, pp. 116-30; IA, 1913, pp. 57-64.

[13] ASI, wc., 1909-10, p. 57; also EI, vol. XIX, Appen. p. 57, No. 97.

[14] EI. vol. XII, pp. 56-61.

[15] SJGM., vol. VI, p. 133.

His son and successor to the throne was Vākpatirāja II, whose three immediate predecessors were incidently brothers and had been on the throne one after the other. And as the eldest brother ruled for about 27 years, the reign periods of the next two brothers must have been comparatively short, and they appear to have ruled from 998 to 1026 A. D. at the most. This gives an average of their reigns at fourteen years. We may not, however, allot a longer period to Vākpatirāja II either, for taking into consideration the longevity of his father Govindarāja II,, it is but natural to conclude that he must have been quite advanced in age at the time of his accession to the throne. We are, therefore, inclined to assign an approximate reign of nearly fourteen years to his credit. Thus we get the following probable dates for these four kings from Vigraharāja II to Vākpatirāja II :

Vigraharāja II	(c. 971— 998 A. D.)
Durlabharāja II	(c. 998—1012 A. D.)
Govindarāja II	(c. 1012—1026 A. D.)
Vākpatirāja II	(c. 1026—1040 A. D.)

The son and successor of Vākpatirāja II was Vīryarāma who was killed by king Bhoja of Malwa (c1010—1055 A. D.)[17]. According to Mr. H. B. Sharda his death took place in c. 1040 A. D.[18] It appears that he was killed soon after his enthronement and perhaps it was on account of his early death that he left behind no son to succeed him and the vacant throne passed on to his younger brother Chāmuṇḍarāja.[19]

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[16] Briggs. TF, vol. I, pp. 69 ff; Arch. Sur Reports,1864-65 vol. II, p. 257.

[17] PV, V, 67.

[18] Sharda ; Speeches and Writings, p. 198.

Chāmuṇḍarāja was succeeded on the throne by his son Durlabharāja III who was a contemporary of king Udayāditya of Malwa (1059-86 A. D.) and king Karṇa of Gujrat (1064-94 A. D.).[20] And as he too, like his uncle, had no son to succeed him, he might have died young after ruling for a short time. We are thus inclined to conclude from all these that after the death of Vīryarāma in c. 1040 Chāmuṇḍarāja ruled probably upto c. 1065 A. D. After him his son Durlabharāja III ascended the throne and in all likelihood the young king died in c. 1070 A. D.[21] This gives the chronology as follows :

Vīryarāma	(c. 1040 A. D.)
Chāmuṇḍarāja	(c. 1040—65 A. D.)
Durlabharāja III	(c. 1065—70 A. D.)

Durlabharāja III's successor was his brother Vigraharāja III who was also a contemporary of king Udayāditya of Malwa (1059-86) and king Karṇa of Gujrat (1064-94).[22] His son and successor was Prithvīrāja I of whose reign the Jina Mātā temple inscription is dated V. E. 1162 (1105 A. D.).[23] From this it appears that he might have ruled for sometime more. We may, however, put the close of his reign in c. 1110 A. D. This gives the rule of these two kings for about 40 years from c. 1070 to 1110 A. D. supplying thereby with an average reign period of 20 years for each king which can be shown as below :—

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[19] PV, V, 68.

[20] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 199, f. n. 6.

[21] Mr. H. B. Sharda puts this event in about 1075 A. D. Speeches and Writings, p. 198.

[22] PV, 5, 76-78.

[23] Progress report of Arch. Sur. of Ind, WC, 1909-10, p. 52.

Vigraharāja III	(c. 1070—90 A. D.)
Prithvīrāja I	(c. 1090—1110 A. D.)

Ajayarāja II succeeded Prithvīrāja I on the throne, and, as the first inscription hitherto known of the reign of his son and successor Arṇorāja is the Jina Mātā temple inscription dated V. E. 1196 (1139 A. D.)[24] we may infer that he died sometime before 1139 A. D. We are, thus, inclined to put this event in c. 1135 A. D. Mr. H. B. Sharda puts the end of his rule in 1125 A. D. when Arṇorāja assumed sovereignty.[25] But this date does not appear to be convincing at all in view of the description of the reign of Ajayarāja II in the Prithvīrāja Vijaya which probably indicates a fairly long period covered with peace and prosperity.[26]

The last known date of Arṇorāja is 1150 A. D. when he fought for the second time against Kumārapāla of Gujrat and was defeated.[27] His death, therefore, must have occured between 1150 and 1152 A. D., the date of the conquest of Delhi by his second son Vigraharāja IV.[28]

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24. Progress Report of Arch, Sur. of Ind. W.C., 1909-10, p. 52.
25. Sharda ; Ajmer, p. 33 (old ed.); Vaidya HMHI, vol. III,p. 146
26. PV., V, 83-192
27. EI, vol. II, p. 422.
28. Cunningham, Arch, Survey Reports 1862-63 vol. I, pp. 149 and 156

It seems likely that the closing year of his reign was 1150 A. D. when he was killed by his eldest son Jagaddeva who succeeded him.[29] This parricide, however, was soon displaced by his younger brother Vigraharāja IV possibly in the same year.[30]

The last known date of Vigraharāja IV is 1164 A. D.[31] But it is apparent from the text of the Delhi-Siwalik Pillar inscription, which reads like a parting message and in which he enjoins upon his descendants to continue the work of conquest begun by him,[32] that he did not live long after that and most probably died in the same year, i. e., 1164 A. D. This brings the chronology from Ajayarāja II to Vigraharaja IV as follows :—

Ajayarāja II	(c. 1110—35 A. D.)
Arṇorāja	(c. 1135—50 A. D.)
Jagaddeva	(c. 1150 A. D.)
Vigraharāja IV	(c. 1150—1164 A. D.)

Aparagāngeya, the son and successor of Vigraharāja IV, died a bachelor perhaps soon after his accession to the throne[33] which was taken possession of by Prithvīraja II, the son of the parricide Jagaddeva, sometime before 1167 A. D., the date of his Hansi stone inscription.[34] This event took place either in 1165 or 1166 A. D., possibly in the former year, and king Prithvirāja II continued to rule till 1169 A. D., the date of the Menal inscription in the Maṇḍalgarh district in Mewar.[35]

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[29] PV, VII, 12-13; HM, II, 52-55; SJGM, vol. VI, p, 133.
[30] DHNI, vol. II, p. 1074.
[31] IA, vol. XIX, p. 218
[32] ibid, p. 216
[33] P. V. VIII, 54
[34] IA, 1912, pp. 17-19

According to the Bijaulia Rock inscription Someśvara was on the throne of Ajmer in the early months of the year 1170 A. D.[36] His last known date is supplied through the Anvalda stone inscription of his time which is dated 1177 A. D.[37] whereas the earliest record of the reign of his son Prithvīrāja III is the Barla stone inscription, dated 1178 A. D.[38] This shows that Someśvara died perhaps in 1178 A. D. when his minor son Prithvīrāja III ascended the throne.

Prithvīrāja's glorious reign came to its end in 1192 A. D. after the second battle of Tarain when his son Govindarāja III was installed on the throne as a puppet ruler by the Muslim conqueror[39]. But soon after, his uncle Harirāja rose in rebellion against his authority, got him removed from Ajmer, and himself became the master of the kingdom. This event appears to have taken place in 1193 A. D. and he was on the throne at least upto 1194 A. D., the date of the Tantoti image inscription of his reign[40]. This year, however, saw the end of the Chāhamāna rule at Ajmer which finally passed into the hands of Shahab-ud-Din Ghori.[41] The Chāhamānas were obliged to migrate to Ranthambhor under prince Govindarāja, where they ruled for slightly more than a century. This gives the chronology from Aparagāngeya to Harirāja, the lastof the Chāhamāna rulers of Śākambharī and Ajmer, as follows :

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[35] Ojha, History of Udaipur, vol. I pp. 60-61

[36] JASB, vol. LV, part I, 1886, pp. 155 ff.; EI, vol. XXVI 1941, pp. 84-112.

[37] RMR, 1923, p. 2.

[38] This unpublished inscription is dated the 4th. day of the bright half of Chaitra (V.) E. 1234, i. e., 1178 A. D. and is deposited in Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. According to the Prabandha Kośa his date of accession is V. E. 1236 (1179 A. D.) SJGM Vol. VI, p. 134. This latter date may indicate the date of his coronation which took place some time after his accession when he became major.

[39] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 216 and 297.

Aparagāngeya	(c. 1164—65 A. D.)
Prithvīrāja II	(c. 1165—69 A. D.)
Someśvara	(c. 1169—78 A. D.)
Prithvīrāja III	(c. 1178—1192 A. D.)
Govindarāja III	(c. 1192—93 A. D.)
Harirāja	(c. 1193—94 A. D.)

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[40] RMR, 1911-12, pp. 2 and 5.

[41] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 225-26.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE CHĀHAMĀNA POWER

I The Original home of the Chāhamānas

According to the bardic traditions the original seat of power of the family was Māhishmatī on the Narmadā and the Chāhamānas are said to have enjoyed sovereignty of the whole of India many a time[1]. This tradition is entirely unhistorical, for the Chāhamānas had neither originally settled on the Narmadā nor they ever enjoyed the sovereignty of the whole of Hindustān. Their first historical seat of power was Ahichchhatrapura[2] from where they appear to have shifted their capital to Śākambharī and finally to Ajmer, and the part of the country associated with their rule was known as Jāngaladeśa[3] (Forest land) as well as Sapādalaksha[4] situated in Rajasthan. It was from this region that they spread in different directions in the country.

The identification of Ahichchhatrapura, Jāngaladeśa and Sapādalaksha has, however, caused a great controversy among scholars who hold divergent views on these subjects. It was Bhagwān Lāl Indrajī who first identified the Sapādalaksha territory with the tract now known as Gurhwāl, Kumaon etc., and Ahichchhatrapura with the ancient city of Ahichchhatra, the capital of Northern Panchāla,[5] which was in existence as late as c. 635 A.D. when it was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang[6].

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[1] Vaidya, HMHI, Vol. II, p. 92.

[2] JASB, Vol. LV, part I, p. 41, verse 12.

[3] Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara, canto II, verse 46.

[4] IA, 1912, p. 195; Rāsmālā, p. 142, Tawney; PC, p. 188; EI, Vol. II p. 423.

Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, holding that the name Sapādalaksha had originally been applied to the above named tract, admits that from inscriptions and early Muhammedan writers it seems that Sapādalaksha included Hansi in the Panjab, Ajmer, Mandor, the capital of Marwar, six miles north of Jodhpur, and Mandalgarh in Mewar. All this was exactly the territory held by the Chauhans and there cannot be even the shadow of a doubt as to this province being called Sapādalaksha only after their occupation. He is, however, of the opinion that the Chāhamānas, who originally belonged to the Khazar stock, settled down, when they entered India, in the mountaneous territory called Sapādalaksha in the region of the Siwalik hills or Savalakh as the name appears in Babar's account. He further indentifies the town of Ahichchhatrapura, the first seat of the Chāhamāna power, with O-hi-chi-ta-lo of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. It was from here, he says, that they, later on, migrated to the Sāmbhar region and with them they carried the name of their home territory Sapādalaksha which they gave to their newly acquired land[7].

The arguments put forward by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar in favour of his theory do not appear convincing at all.

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[5] IA, 1879, Vol. VIII, p.

[6] Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. I p. 200

[7] IA., 1911, pp. 28-29.

It is really surprising, rather unbelievable, that the foreigners who entered India as conquerors, would settle down in the Siwalik hilly regions of the Himalayas leaving aside the inviting plains of the Punjab and the present Uttar Pradesh. This goes against the course of Indian history and Mr. C.V. Vaidya is right when he says that " Brahmins and Rajputs went into these submontane inhospitable regions in historical times from the Punjab in consequence of the inroads of foreign invaders down to the Turks, in the same way as many took shelter in the sands and hills of Rajasthan."[8] The fact, as revealed in the Delhi-Siwalik pillar inscription of Vigraharāja IV, is that with the gradual rise and growth of their power the Chāhamāna kingdom with its capital at Ajmer, extended to the foot of the Himalayas.[9] This clearly indicates the movement of the Chāhamānas from the South-West to the North-East and not vice-versa as the learned scholar would have us beleive.

He puts forward the testimony of Jain works which mention one Ahichchhatra as the capital of Jāngala.[10] This territory lay adjacent to the country of the Mādreyas which was situated between the Chenab and the Sutlej.[11] But this Jāngala, i. e., the forest country near Mādreya, he holds, can only be the Southern part of the Himalayas, where Ahichchhatra must consequently be located.[12]

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[8] Vaidya, HMHI, vol. II, p. 36.

[9] IA, vol. XIX, p. 216

[10] Weber's Die Sk. and Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek pp. 562 and 854; also IA, 1911, p. 28

[11] Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, vol. I, P. 185

[12] IA, 1911, p. 28.

Jāngaladeśa :—The name Jāngala is as old as the Mahābhārata and is often expressed in the compound terms Kuru-Jāngalāh,[13] and Mādreya-Jāngalāh.[14] This leads us to the conclusion that the boundary of the Jāngaladeśa was touching that of the Kuru and Mādreya lands. Mr. Nando Lal Dey in his "Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India" does not give the name of the Jāngaladeśa though he mentions Kuru.-Jāngala as one name which he describes as : "A forest country situated in Sirhind, north-west of Hastinapura. It was called Śrīkanṭhadeśa during the Buddhist period. Its capital was Bilāsapura. It was included in Kurukshetra[15].

This view of Mr. Dey is untenable and Mr. H. B. Sharda argues correctly that 'there is no warrant for the assumption that Kuru-Jāngala was the name of one country, for the Mahābhārata regards Kuru and Jāngala as two separate countries',[16] which is evident from the terms Kuru-Jāngalāh and Mādreya-Jāngalāh. Then again, Mr. Sharda continues, 'the Kuru and Jāngala countries were never known as Śrīkanṭha.[17] Bāṇabhaṭṭa gives the name of Harsha's ancestral kingdom as Śrīkanṭha by which is meant the kingdom of Thaneśvara.[18]

The compound terms Kuru-Panchāla and Kuru-Jāngala, as they are used in the Mahābhārata, express a certain relationship between the two component parts of each of the terms. And as Kuru and Panchāla were two different territories lying adjacent to each other, Kuru and Jāngala also must have been two separate countries with common boundaries. Mr. Sharda holds that 'the term Kuru-Jāngala means or expresses a political, economic and geographical unit or idea as much as the other term Kuru-Panchāla'. He further says that 'as Panchāla was situated on one (the eastern) side of Kuru, it is probable that Jāngala was also situated on the other side (south) of it and both Kuru and Jāngala formed one portion of Bhāratavarsha for some administrative or geographical purpose.'[19]

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[13] Mahābhārata, Uddyoga Parva. Ch. 54, V. 7

[14] ibid, Bīshma Parva, ch. 9, v. 39. (तत्रेमे कुरुपांचालाः शाल्वा माद्रेयजांगलाः)

[15] Geog. Dictionary of Anci. and Medieval India, p. 15.

[16] Mahābhārata, Bhīshma Parva, ch. 9, v. 39.

[17] Sharda, Speeches and Writings, pp. 215-16.

[18] Harsha-Charita, Cowell and Thomas, p. 73, note 6.

According to Dr. G. H. Ojha the explanation of the terms Mādreya-Jāngalāh and Kuru-Jāngalāh is that Jāngaladeśa was adjacent to the Kuru and Mādreya territories; and as both Madra and Kuru lay to the north of Jāngaladeśa, the latter must be to the south of them.[20].

But this referenc of the Jāngaladeśa, as given in the Mahābhārata, alone is not enough regarding the exact location of this land, and for accuracy we shall have to take into consideration the physical features of the Jāngaladeśa, as described in other Sanskrit works. The Śabda-Kalpadruma-Kośa defines the land as one in which 'there is scarcity of water and grass, where high winds blow and the heat is intense and which abounds in grain production after rains.'[21] The Bhāva-Prakāśa states that

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19. Sharda, Speeches and Writings, p. 216.

20. NPP (new edi.) vol. II, p. 329.

२१. स्वल्पोदक तृणे यस्तु प्रवातः प्रचुरातयाः ।
स स्यो जांगलो देशो वहुधान्यादिसंयुतः ॥
Sabda-Kalpadruma-Kośa, vol. II, p. 529.

in Jāngaladeśa the sky remains clear and such trees grow as require little watering for their growth ; for instance Śamī (prosopis spicigera), Karīra (Capparis aphylla), Bilva (Aegle marmelos), Arka (calotropis procera), Pīlu (salvadora persica) and Karkandhu.[22]

These physical characteristics clearly point out to the location of the land and Jāngaladeśa appears to be situated some where in the sandy plains of Rajasthan. A part of the present Bikaner state is still termed Jānglu which is only a Prakrita form of Jāngala, and its rulers were called by the bards of Rajasthan as 'Jangaladhar Pātasah' or king of the Jāngaladeśa. Mr. Sharda further enlightens us by the information that 'Jai Jangaldhar Badshah' is the inscription borne on the coat of arms of the rulers of Bikaner, and this would show that a portion at least of the old Jāngaladeśa was incorporated in the dominion over which the Maharajas of Bikaner held their sway.[23]

Thus the use of the terms Kuru-Jāngala and Mādreya-Jāngala as well as the physical characteristics of the territory all indicate beyond any doubt that the country lay towards the south of Kuru and Madra and comprised the parts of the former Bikaner and Jaipur states and northern portion of the Marwar territory. This identification further discards the views of Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar that the Jāngala territory can only be the southern part of the Himalayas.[24]

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२२. आकाश शुभ्र उच्चश्च स्वल्पपानीय पादपः
शमी करीर विल्वार्क पीलु कर्कन्धुसंकुलः ॥
ibid. p. 529.

23. Sharda, Speeches and Writings. p. 215

24. IA, 1911, p. 28.

Sapādalaksha :—The Jāngaladeśa was also known as Sapādalaksha country but the latter name appears to have had a later origin. The Skanda-Purāṇa list of countries in India mentions the Sayambhara Sapādalaksha country which doubtless refers to the territory round the Sambhar lake.[25] A part of the country in the district of Nagor in Marwar is till known as Svalakh or Savalakh[26] which is but a corrupt form of Sapādalaksha. Thus the kingdom of the Chāhamānas with its capital at Ajmer was known as Sapādalaksha country and with the growth of their power its boundary also expanded. The Chāhamānas are referred to as its supreme ruler at a number of places.[27]

Dr. Bhandarkar, however, places their country originally in the Siwalik hilly regions of the Himalayas.[28] It is highly probable that the Siwalik range of hills might have been originally called not as Sapādalaksha but as Śivālaya on account of its approximity and nearness with Kailaśa, the eternal abode of Lord śiva, and was later on corrupted into Siwalik. With the hard accent of the people of that region it might have further undergone a change and would have become Svalakh or Savalakh, and this Savalakh perhaps suggested that this extensive hilly region contained 125000 hills as is already narrated in Babar's accounts.[29] This might have in all probability given this part the popular and traditional name Sapādalaksha, though this name is not given to this portion of the land in the list of the countries contained in the Sknda-Purāṇa.[30]

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[25] Vaidya, HMHI, vol. II p. 41.

[26] IA, 1911, p. 28

[27] Tawney, Prabhandha Chintāmaṇi pp. 188 and 190; Someśvara's Surathotsava Kāvya, Canto XV, v. 22, Arch. Sur. Reports vol. VI, plate XXI.

[28] IA, 1911, p. 29

[29] ibid, 1911, p. 28.

Śākambharī :—The Chāhamāna kings of Sapādalaksha were also known as Śakambharīśas or the kings of Śakambharī'[31] This has again led historians to infer the south-western movement of the Chāhamānas. They point out to the shrine of Śakambharīdevī on the hills in the north-west of Pargana Muzaffarabad in the Saharanpur District of U. P.[32] and conclude that the Chāhamānas, after their migration to the Sambhar region took away with them the name of the goddess also who continued to remain their family deity. They also gave this name to their new capital as well as to the lake which was so useful to them.

A goddess, however, is a goddess who cannot be an exclusive monopoly of a particular family in a particular place. She could and can be worshipped here and there and everywhere, The people of any place have as much right and privilege to build a temple for her worship as the Chāhamānas of Sambhar and Ajmer. Moreover, the association of the goddess and the Śakambharī region with the Chāhamānas is as old as the reign of king Vāsudeva in the 3rd. quarter of the sixth century A.D. when the Chāhamāna kingdom was founded.[33] It is

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30. Vaidya, HMHI, vol. II pp. 41-42.
31. EI, vol. II, pp. 422-23; Āśādhara; Dharmāmrita Śāstra Praśasti at the end of the work.
32. Gazetteer of the Saharanpur District, p. 88.
33. SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133

quite probable that the Chāhamānas in their expansion during the reign of Vigraharāja IV and after might have built the temple of the goddess Śakambharī in this part also which was distinctly under their possession.

Ahichchhatrapura :—The earliest capital of the Chāhamānas was Ahichchhatrapura.[34] But the location of the town has become a controversial issue. The Jain works mention one Ahichchhatra as the capital of Jāngaladeśa.[35] In the collection of the manuscripts and copies of old inscriptions left by Yati Gyānchandra, the Guru (preceptor) of Col. James Tod, at Mandal in Mewar there is a paper containing the names of twenty-six different countries and their capitals. No. 10 on that list is Jāngaladeśa and its capital is stated to be Ahichchhatra.[36]

There have been different towns bearing this name but the most important of them is that which has been mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang under the name 'O-hi-chi-ta-lo.'[37] It was the capital of northern Panchāla, the ruins of which are to be found near the village of Ramnagar in the Aonla Tahsil in the District of Bareilly.[38] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, identifies it with a city of the same name in the Himalayas.[39] But their very situations, indicate that none of these cities could have been the capital of Jāngaladeśa which was situated in Rajasthan.

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[34] JASB, vol. LV, part I, p. 41, verse 12

[35] Weber's Die Sk. and Pr. Handschriften dei Berliner Bibliothek, pp. 562 and 854; also IA, 1911, p. 28.

[36] NPP (new edi) vol. II, p. 329, foot note 3; Sharda, speeches and writings, p. 221.

[37] Buddhist Records of the western World, vol. I, p. 200.

[38] Bareilly Gazetteer, p. 145.

[39] IA, 1911, p. 28.

Dr. G. H. Ojha[40] and Mr. H. B. Sharda[41] identify this Ahichchhatrapura of the Chāhamāna records with the modern town of Nagor in Marwar. Nagor is the Prakrita form of Nāgapura which literally means 'the city of the Serpent', while the name Ahichchhatrapura also signifies 'the city whose Chhatra (or protector) is the serpent'. Thus Nāgapura and Ahichchhtrapura are synonyms. Sanskrit writers have always been very fond of using synonyms and different names, having the same significance, are often given to the same object. Dr. Ojha,[42] for instance, quotes the name of Hastināpura which has been mentioned as Gajasāhvayapura,[43] Gajāhvayapura[44] Nāgasāhvayapura[45] and Nāgapura[46]. It is so mentioned simply because Gaja, Nāga and Hasti are all synonymous terms. Even the writer of the Bijaulia rock inscription, where the name Ahichchhatrapura occurs, appears to have a liking for the use of synonyms and in the eleventh verse of the inscription he gives Vishṇu for Vāsudeva while in the thirteenth verse he calls Chandrarāja, the successor of Gūvaka I as Śaśinripa, for both the words mean the same thing, the moon king.[47]

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[40] NPP (new edi.) vol. II, p. 329.

[41] Sharda, speeches and writings, p. 223.

[42] NPP (new edi.) vol. II, p. 329, footnote 4.

[43] Bhāgavata Purāna, 1, 8, 45; 4, 39, 30; 10, 57, 8.

[44] ibid, 1, 9, 48; 1, 15, 38.

[45] Mahābhārata, 7, 1, 8; 14, 65, 20.

[46] ibid, 5, 147, 5.

[47] EI, vol. XXVI, pp. 103-112.

The Prithvīrāja-vijaya, a very reliable work on the history of the Chāhamānas, describes the earliest king Vāsudeva's first visit to Śakambharī or Sambhar.[48] From this description it is apparent that his capital was situated at a distance from Śakambharī but was certainly within a day's hard ride from it[49]. The next Chāhamāna king Sāmantarāja is said to have his capital at Ahichchhatrapura[50] and as Ahichchhatrapura, Nāgapura or Nagor carry the same meaning and as Nagor is situated at a distance of 65 miles to the north-west of Sambhar, it is highly likely that Nagor and Ahichchhatrapura are one and the same place. Dr. H.C. Ray also holds that Ahichchhatrapura was situated some where on the borders of the formar Jaipur and Jodhpur states, and Nagor is probably its modern name.[51]

A Ladnu inscription informs us that the Chāhamāna kingdom of Sapādalaksha included Nāgapattana, i.e., Nagor and there is still a tract of land in the Nagor District which is known as *Svalakh* or *Savalakh*.[52]

It is apparent, therefore, that the earliest capital of the Chāhamāna kingdom must have been at Nāgapura or Nagor in Marwar and as Jāngaladeśa was the ancient name of the Sapādalaksha country, its capital Ahichchhatra is undoubtedly identical with the modern town of Nagor which is a place of great antiquity.

Ananta Country :—The original kingdom of the Chāhamānas was also known as Ananta country as early as the reign of Prince Vāsudeva.[53] It has also been referred to as such in the Harsha stone inscription[54] as well as in the Bijaulia rock inscription.[55] Dr. H. C. Ray., however, thinks that it was so named after Sāmantarāja who was also called Ananta(?)[56]. Dr. D. Sharma however, identifies it with the tract near Harsha in Shekhawati in the former Jaipur state[57].

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[48] PV. Cantos 4 and 5.

[49] Sharda, speeches and writings, p. 222.

[50] JASB, vol. LV, part I, p. 41, verse 12.

[51] DHNI, vol. II, p. 1053, 54.

[52] IA, 1911, p. 29, footnote 15.

II The Establishment of the Chāhamāna Power in the Jāngala Land

The Chāhamāna kingdom, although it expanded far and wide in the 12th century A.D., and was the largest and the most powerful kingdom of the age, had its humble origin in the land which is known to us as Jāngaladeśa, and which subsequently came to be called as Sapādalaksha, with its capital at Ahichchhatrapura. It is, however, far from certain as to when exactly they had their rise, but, as alluded to in the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya,[58] a reliable work on the early history of the Chāhamānas, they appear to have come into prominence on account of their successful struggle under Chāhamāna against the barbarians (Mlechchhas). These Mlechchhas who invaded India in ever-increasing numbers during the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. and brought the Gupta Empire to its ruin, were the Hūṇas who ultimately became the master of the north-western India with their capital at Śākala. They enjoyed sovereignty till about the middle of the 6th century, but, as we have noticed above, there was a rising in the country against their oppressive rule and this brought about their end. It was perhaps during this period of confusion and chaos that Chāhamāna, the founder of the family, with the assistance of his brother Dhananjaya as his Commander-in-Chief, established himself as a ruler in the Jāngala territory.[59]

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[53] PV, V, 6.

[54] EI, vol. II, p. 121, verses 16 and 28.

[55] JASB, vol. LV, part I, p. 41, verse 12.

[56] DHNI, vol. II, p. 1064.

[57] Sharma ; Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 23.

[58] PV, II, 67-69.

Vāsudeva :—It was prince Vāsudeva, however, who carved out for himself a bigger principality in this region during the middle of the 6th century A.D. and raised the family to a greater height. By this time the Hūṇa menace was over and they were completely driven out of this part of the land. Nagor or Ahichchhatrapura, which might have served the Chāhamānas as their base of operation against the Hūṇas on account of its comparatively safe situation, became his seat of power. Thus his date of accession to the throne, i.e., 551 A.D.,[60] marks the real beginning of a new era in the history of the family which, under his able guidance, rose into prominence and began to gradually assert its rule in the Jāngaladeśa.

During the reign of this prince the Chāhamānas came into possession of the Śākambhara or Sāmbhar region. In connection with the occupation of this territory the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya narrates an interesting tradition which can be summarised as follows :—

Once Vāsudeva went out on a hunting expedition. Finding some good omens he built for himself a palace in the forest. One day while entering the palace, he, to his great surprise, found a Vidyādhara, sleeping on his bed. His magic pill which gave him power to fly in the air, had fallen down from his mouth. The king picked it up and handed over this precious article to the divine being who was immensely pleased with the king's magnanimity. He then disclosed his identity to Vāsudeva that he was a Vidyādhara and that his father was also a Vidyādhara named Śākambhara. The latter by his devotion had pleased the goddess Pārvatī who had consequently made her abode in the forest and was residing there under the name Śākambharī Devī.

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[59] ibid, II, 63-69.

[60] SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133.

The Vidyādhara, in order to repay the gratefulness he owed to the king, asked him to plant his lance in the gound at sun-set and ride back to his capital without looking behind. The king carried out the behest of the Vidyādhara, and while riding back at full speed, he heard the roar of ocean's waves following him. This roused great curiosity in the king who forgot the injunction and looked behind. The Vidyādhara appeared again before him and told him that that was the salt lake which would ever remain in the possession of his descendants and that it would yield them advantages in both the worlds. The king then tasted the water, visited the shrine of the goddess Śākambharī which lay near by and, after having paid his homage to her, he repaired to his capital.[61]

According to this tradition Vāsudeva appears to have occupied the territory near Sāmbhar with little or no effort. Another tradition, as recorded in the Surjana Charita and which is almost similar in detail to the one

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61. PV, cantos IV and V.

narrated above, informs us that the people of the Śākambharī region welcomed a Chāhamāna king, of later date of course, when he reached the land for occupation.[62] These traditions perhaps indicate that the Chāhamānas were received and welcomed as liberators, and not as conquerors, by the people who had suffered immensely under the oppressive rule of the Hūṇa tyrants. This was naturally regarded by the Chāhamānas as a boon from the local deity Śākambharī whom they gratefully acknowledged as their patroness and protector of their family fortune.

III Individual Kings and the Gradual Expansion of Their Power

Sāmantarāja (c. 684-709 A.D.). The next prince of the family known to us was Sāmantarāja. The exact relations of this prince with Vāsudeva are unknown. It appears that after Vāsudeva the Chāhamānas lost their importance during the glorious reign of the Pushyabhūtis of Thaneswar and Kanauj, and it was left to Sāmantāraja to raise the fallen fortune of the family. He may be identified with Māṇika Rāi of the tradition recorded by Col. James Tod. According to this tradition Māṇika Rāi restored the fortune of the family with the help of the Goddess Śākambharī soon after the death of his brother Dūlārāi at the hands of his foes in 684 A.D. and occupied the district of Śākambharī,[63] He appears to have wielded considerable power and, as

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62. NPP (new edi.) vol. XLVI, part 3, p. 207

63. Tod ; AAR, vol, II, p. 490, (Cal. ed.)

is apparent from the Bijaulia rock inscription[64] as well as the Prithvīrāja Vijaya,[65] he exercised his authority over many Sāmantas or feudal lords. This fact indicates the expansion of the Chāhamāna principality during his reign and doubtless he strengthened the foundation of the future greatness of his family.

Naradeva or Pūrṇatalla (c. 709-21 A.D.) followed him on the throne. The omission of his name, however, in the Prithvīrāja Vijaya probably indicates that either his reign was short or he was an insignificant ruler. He is called Nripa in Bijaulia rock inscription.

Ajayarāja I *or Jayarāja.* (c. 721-34 A. D.) was a powerful chief who raised the fallen and curbed the pride of the haughty.[66] He is known as Ajayapāla chakva, the universal potentate, as well as Ajayapāla Chakrī, the conqueror of the Chakra of the enemy.[67] These things help us to conclude that he was a great warrior who waged successful wars against his foes. He thus saved the life and property of his people from destruction perhaps by neighbouring rulers and consequently won the devotion and loyalty of his subjects.

In his old age he is said to have retired to a place, in the environs of Ajmer, called Śrī Āśrama[68] of Ajaipal, and passed the evening of his life in religious devotion there. He is still worshipped as Ajayabābā to whom is dedicated a temple containing his image with a long stick standing by it and is believed to preside over the destinies of Ajmer and protect its citizens from ills, especially the attack of venomous reptiles and animals.[69]

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[64] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, Part I, p. 41, verse 12.

[65] PV, V, 7.

[66] ibid, V, 9

[67] HM, I, 41-52. Chakra is the disposition of troops in battle in the form of hollow circles.

[68] NPP (new edi.) vol. XII, part III, p. 283.

The Prabandha-Kośa[70] informs us that he built the Ajayameru Durga or the fortress of Ajmer, now called Tārāgarh. The Akhbar-ul-Akhyar says that the first fort built on a hill in India was the fortress of Tārāgarh.[71] Built in the 8th century of the Christian era, the Ajayameru Durga, as it was originally called, maintained its reputation for strength and strategic importance during all the political changes and upheavals this country has witnessed during the momentous period between the 8th and 19th centuries.[72] Mr. Heber is of the opinion that it could, with very little European skill, be made a second Gibralter.[73]

He also founded the city of Ajayameru,[74] 'the key of Rajputana', which ever 'adorned the brow of victor in the race for political supremacy in India.' The Prithvīrāja-Vijaya, however, gives the credit for this achievement to one of his descendants of the same name who flourished in the first half of the 12th century A.D.[75]

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69. Ajmer, pp. 121 and 138.
70. SJGM. vol. VI p. 133.
71. This fort covers an area of 80 acres and is bilt on the crest of a towering hill " 2855 feet above the sea-level and about 1300 above the plain," which "rises majestically from its base to the height of about 800 feet, its crest encircled by the ancient walls and towers raised by Ajayapāla." Tod's Rajasthan, vol. I, p. 783.
72. Ajmer, p. 50.
73. Heber's Journal, vol. II, p. 49.
74. NPP. vol. XLVI, part III, p. 206.
75. PV. V, 192

As a matter of fact he appears to have made considerable improvements and additions for the decoration and expansion of the town which existed long before king Ajayarāja II was born. Convincing proofs of its antiquity are furnished by certain inscriptions in the 'Thāḍas, and Chhatrees of Jain leaders of the Digambara sect who lived and died in the town. Mr. H. B. Sharda informs us that 'an inscription in one of the Chhatrees, built over the remains of Hemarāja, disciple of Bhaṭṭāraka Ratnakīrtijī, at Ajmer bears date (V.) S. 817 (A.D. 760). Three other inscriptions in these Chatrees are dated 845, 854 and 871 A.D. respectively.[76] This was long before the time of Ajayarāja II. That these Jain pandits and Bhaṭṭārakas died and were cremated in Ajmer proves that the town of Ajmer existed in the 8th century A.D.

Vigraharāja I (c. 734-59 A.D.). The Prithvīrāja Vijaya[77] lavishes much conventional praise on Vigraharāja I, the son and successor of Ajayarāja I. This probably indicates his valorous feats in the field of battle to keep up the reputation of his family.

His two sons *Chandrarāja I* (c. 759-71 A.D.) and *Gopendrarāja* (c. 771-84 A.D.) followed him on the throne one after the other and, if the testimony of the Prabandha-Kośa is to be relied upon, the latter defeated Sultan Beg Varisa in battle.[78] We know that the lust of wealth combined with religious fanaticism and political ambition led the Arabs to undertake the invasion of Sindh in 712 A.D. under Muhammad bin Kasim. They conquered Sindh and Multan and succeeded with considerable ease to consolidate their position there. And as the Chāhamāna kingdom was not very far away from the Muslim dominion, it is quite possible that, in order to gratify their amition, they might have sent an expedition into the interior under Beg Varisa, probably a general of one of the successors of Muhammad bin Kasim. But he apparently failed in his efforts and Gopendrarāja inflicted on him a crushing defeat and thus checked the further advance of the Muslim arms in India. Al Biladurī also informs us that during the time of Junaid's feeble and imbecile successor Tamim 'the Muslims retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions.'[79] This was, however, the beginning of the titanic struggle between the Chāhamānas and the Muslims which lasted for centuries.

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[76] Ajmer, p. 37-38.

[77] PV, V, 10-14.

[78] SJGM. vol. VI, p. 133.

This brings us to the close of an epoch in the early history of the Chāhamānas and, as we have noticed above, they saw during this period many ups and downs in their political career, They probably established themselves as petty independent rulers at Ahichchhtrapura (Nagor) in Rajasthan and, in the absence of a strong power in the country, their kingdom gradually grew in strength. This expansion necessitated the change of the capital to Śākambharī or modern Sāmbhar.

During the imperial rule of Harshavardhana (c. 606-648 A.D.), however, they were eclipsed and must have been obliged to stop their political activities and aggressive designs. But this empire vanished with the passing away of its founder and, in the state of anarchy that followed his death, the Chāhamānas, during the reigns of Sāmantāraja, Ajayarāja I and Vigraharāja I showed distinct tendencies towards independence. With this aim in view perhaps they built, during the reign of Ajayarāja I (c. 721-34 A.D.), the famous fortress of Ajayameru which many a time defied the skill and strength of powerful arms.

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[79] Elliot, vol. I, p. 126.

This must have brought them into conflict with their neighbours, the Pratīhāras of Ujjain who were rapidly growing into a great power. In the beginning the Chāhamānas appear to have succeeded in maintaining their integrity and independence and, according to the testimony of the Prithvīrāja Vijaya, they repeatedly beat off their foes during the reigns of Ajayarāja I and his successor Vigraharāja I.[80] But in this race for political supremacy in the country they could not keep pace with their rivals and ultimately they bowed to the superior strength of the Pratīhāras who finally rose to be the supreme power in Northern India. This must have happened during the reign of Chandrarāja I (c. 759-71 A.D.) or even earlier, while Nāgabhaṭa I (c. 740-65 A.D.) was ruling at Ujjain. This is further proved by the appointment of a Chāhamāna governor, Bhartribaddha II, in Lāṭadeśa some time before 756 A. D. in the increasingly victorious reign of Nāgabhaṭa I.[81]

The acceptance of a subordinate position on the part of the Chāhamānas must have also been due to the fear of Arab invasion from the west. The Pratīhāras too had to face this danger and king Nāgabhaṭa I of Ujjain is credited with "having crushed the large armies of the powerful Mlechchha king, the destroyer of virtue."[82] Thus both the houses viewed the new danger from the west from the same angle of vision and drew together to meet the common foe.

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[80] PV, V, 8-14.

[81] EI, vol. XII, p. 201.

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[82] ibid, vol. XVIII, pp. 107, and 110-11.

CHAPTER V

THE CHĀHAMĀNAS AS VASSALS OF THE PRATĪHĀRAS.

I

We have seen above that after the death of Harshavardhana (647 A. D.) the Chāhamānas tried to reassert their sovereignty in their ancestral kingdom and for a time they succeeded in their attempt. But side by side the Pratīhāras of Ujjain were also heading towards the same goal and were constantly engaged in extending the frontiers of their kingdom. It was, therefore, inevitable that they should come into clash with the Chāhamānas who happened to be not only their neighbours but political rivals as well. The Pratīhāras were, on the whole, more fortunate and better equipped for the race for political supremacy and they apparently gained the upper hand over all their lesser rivals whose kingdoms lay nearby. Thus the Pratīhāras steadily grew from strength to strength and their expansion led to the supression of the political power of the Chāhamānas who apparently failed to compete with the tising house of Ujjain and ultimately reconciled themselves to the position of vasalage under their imperial rule.

Durlabharāja I (c. 784-809 A. D.), the son of Chandrarāja I succeeded his uncle Gopendrarāja (c. 771-84 A. D.) to the throne of Śākambharī. In connection with his achievement the use of the term

'Gauḍarasāsvāda' in the Prithvīrāja Vijaya[1] is significant and it has been explained by its commentator Jonarāja in two different ways : (i) Gauḍa+Rasā+Svāda, and (ii) Gauḍa+Rasa+Āsvāda. The first analysis of the compound means the taste of the Gauḍa Rasā, *i. e.*, the Gauḍa land while the second connotes the taste of the Gauḍa Rasa, *i: e.*, the sweet juice of Bengal from which the land is said to have derived its name Gauḍadeśa. In the light of these interpretations the verse in question may be explained thus : "His sword, after a dip in the Gangāsāgara,[2] purified itself by the taste of the land (Rasā), or of the sweet juice (Rasa), of Gauḍa and thus attained prominence."

The association of his sword with Gauḍadeśa is important in so far as it credits him with a military achievement in that far off country. But we know that the Chāhamāna kingdom was by this time neither so extensive nor so strong to measure swords with the king of Gauḍa who was possibly Dharmapāla, an aspirant for the imperial dignity at Kannauj. We also know that Dharmapāla was defeated slightly before 789 A. D. by the Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja (c. 778-805 A. D.) who also deprived him of the two state umbrellas, probably the royal emblems of Gauḍa and Vanga.[3] This is further alluded to in the Radhanpur grant (808 A. D.), of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda III which records that Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja "who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of Gauḍa," and "took away from him not merely the two Gauḍa umbrellas of state but also his fortune."[4]

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[1] असि: स्नातोत्थितो यस्य गङ्गासागर सङ्गमे ।
चिरं गौडरसास्वादशुद्धा ब्राह्मणतां ययौ ॥ PV. V, 20.

[2] The scacred place where the Ganga meets the Bay of Bengal.

[3] Rāshṭrakūtas and Their Times, p. 56.

This helps us considerably to ascertain the role of the Chāhamāna king in a distanat country like Gauḍa. The Chāhamānas had accepted the overlordship of the Pratīhāras of Ujjain which position continued even when the latter had attained the imperial dignity at Kannauj. Durlabharāja I thus enjoyed the rank of a mere fendatory and it was in his capacity as a vassal chief that he fought on the side of his sovereign Vatsarāja when he overran the Gauḍa country during his successful expedition against its king Dharmapāla who was his political rival.[5]

Gūvaka I (*c.* 809-36 *A. D.*) *alias Govindarāja* was a powerful king and, according to the testimony of the Harsha stone inscription, he became 'famous as a hero in the assembly of the sovereign Nāgāvaloka',[6] evidently a polite way of expressing a feudatory rank. This Nāgāvaloka, the foremost of kings, has been rightly identified with Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 805-833 A. D.) of the imperial Pratīhāra dynasty of Kannauj.[7] Mr. C. V. Vaidya, however, holds that "Gūvaka was an independent king who established his fame among kings by his exploits against the Mahomedans."[8] This view seems to be clearly erroneous, for the Pratīhāra kingdom extended upto Gurjaratrā or central Rajāsthan even in the time Vatsarāja, the father of Nāgabhaṭa II,[9] and the Chāhamānas must have, perhaps as a matter of policy as well as necessity to stem the menacing tide of Islam in western India, accepted their suzerainty.

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[4] EI, vol. VI, pp. 239 ff.

[5] Dr. R. S. Tripathi holds that "it is, however, not necessary to suppose that Vatsarāja's armies overran Bengal, for he may have come into conflict with the Gauḍa Monarch, identified with Dharmapāla, far away during the latter's foreign expedition." History of Kannauj, p. 230.

[6] IA, 1913, p. 58 ; EI, vol. II, p. 121, V. 13.

[7] ibid, 1911, pp. 239-40 ; 1913, p. 58.

Gūvaka's attainment of fame in the assembly of his sovereign might indicate partly his own struggle against the Mohammedans who had established themselves in Sindh and Multan and from where they used to invade the interior from time to time, and partly the assistance he would have rendered as vassal to his overlord in his victories against the Turushkas.[10] He might have further helped his sovereign when the latter formed a confederacy[11] probably against his rivals the Rāsṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheda and the Pālas of Bengal.

He also built the temple of Śrī Harshadeva, "the family god of the line of kings and from whom is derived the splendid carrer of the family.'[12]

Chandrarāja II (c. 836-63 A. D.) alias Śaśinripa[13] succeeded his father. Our knowledge of the exploits

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8. Vaidya, HMHI, vol. II, p. 95. According to Mr. C. V. Vaidya 'Nripa-Sabhā' does not necessarily mean the Darbar of an emperor but may be translated as "an assemblage of kings called by Nāgāvaloka, who himself might be taken to be an imperial king."
9. Dr. Tripathi-History of Kannauj p. 229
10. EI, vol. XVIII, p. 112, verse 11.
11. Arch, Survey of India, 1903-04, p. 280, verses 8-11.
12. EI, vol. II, p. 121, V. 27.
13. Both the names carry the same meaning the 'moon-king'.

of this prince is almost nil although he has been given some vague praise in the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya.[14]

His son *Gūvaka II* (c. 863-90 A. D.) followed him on the throne. His relations with the Pratīhāras of Kannauj appear to be as cordial as before. The Prithvīrāja-Vijaya informs us that his sister Kalāvatī had twelve kings as her suitors,[15] indicating possibly thereby the convention of a Svayamvara; but all of them were defeated by her brother who eventually gave her in marriage, along with the wealth of the defeated princes, to the king of Kānya-Kubja.[16] This Kānyakubjendra is to be identified with the powerful Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja I (c. 836-85 A. D.). The second Pratāpagarh grant of his descendant Mahendrapāla II also begins with a praise of the Chāhamānas who are said to be 'the source of great pleasure to king Bhojadeva'.[17] This may be taken to be an indirect reference to the amicable relations established by this matrimonial alliance which was only a step further to cement the already existing good relation between the two families. This alliance must have also raised the prestige as well as the status of the Chāhamānas among their contemporaries.

Chandanarāja (c. 890-917 A. D.) succeeded his father Gūvaka II to the throne. We learn from the Harsha stone inscription that he defeated and slew in battle the Tomara prince Rudra.[18] This prince perhaps belonged to the Tomara line of kings who had established their kingdom round delhi as early as the middle of the 8th century A. D.[19] And if our suggestion be correct, he may be indentified with Tomara Prince Chandrapāla (c. 876-897 A. D.) or his successor Bibasapāla (c. 897-919 A. D.) of the Kamaon and Garhwal Manuscript.[20] As the dominion of the Tomaras of Delhi extended considerably towards the west[21] it must have touched the kingdom of Śākambharī at various points.[22] And as the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī were a rising and an ambitious people, their clash with the Tomaras, their political rivals, was inevitable. 'This conflict and the death of Rudreṇa (Rudra) may then be regarded as the opening act of that grim struggle which in the middle of the 12th century A. D. was to extend the arms of the Chāhamānas to the foot-hills of the Himālayas.'[23]

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[14] PV, V, 22.
[15] ibid, V, 30-31.
[16] ibid, V, 30-32.
[17] EI, vol. XIV, p. 180.
[18] EI, vol. II, p. 121, V. 14.

His queen Rudrāṇī, also called Ātmaprabhā, set up 1,000 lingas of Śiva on the banks of the holy lake of

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[19] Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Repots, 1862-63, vol. I, p. 149.

[20] ibid, p. 149.

[21] ibid, P. 155.

[22] The north of the Jaipur State is divided into two divisions one called Tañvrāvati and the other Shekhvati. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar holds that the Tomara princes of the Harsha stone inscription may be rulers of this privince. But according to local tradition the Tamvars were at first ruling at Delhi and when they were ousted from there by the Chauhans they mirgrated southward and settled themselves at Patan in Tanvravati. (IA, 1913, p. 59). This view is also shared by Dr. H. C. Ray (DHNI, vol. II, P., 1063).

[23] DHNI, vol. II, p. 1063.

Pushkara. They were like lamps to remove darkness. Her pious activities probably gave her the name Yoginī as well.[24]

Vākpatirāja I (c. 917-944 A. D.) alias Vappayarāja was born of queen Rudrāṇī.[25] The Harsha stone inscription gives him the epithet Mahāraāja and states that he harassed one Tantrapāla, a prince of the neighbouring country, because he was coming haughtily towards the Ananta province, at the behest of his overlord.[26] It appears that to check the haughtiness of Tantrapāla, Vākpatirāja did not at first meet him. And Tantrapāla, with his fogged elephants, could not overtake Vākpati with his fleet horses, and so was struck with shame at not having been able to deliver his over-lord's orders to him. But when Tantrapala's haughtiness was curbed down, Vākpatirāja met him and propitiated him.[27]

The overlord of the prince Tantrapāla may be identified with the Pratīhāra emperor Mahīpāla (c. 912-45 A. D.). although the identity of the prince himself is obscure. We know, however, of one Mādhava in 946 A. D. who is called Tantrapāla, Mahāsāmanta and Daṇḍanāyaka of the Pratīhāra emperor Mahendrapāla II of Kannauj.[28] Though the word Tantrapāla appears to have been used here as a designation, which sounds strange, it may be taken to be an epithet of

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[24] PV, V, 37-39.
[25] ibid, V, 40.
[26] EI, vol. II, p. 121, V. 16 ; also IA, 1913, p. 58.
[27] IA, 1913, p. 58.
[28] EI, vol. XIV, p. 180.

Mādhava. We may, therefore, venture to suggest that this Mādhava, the Tantrapāla, who was a general as well as a provincial governor at Ujjain under the Pratīhāra emperor Mahendrapāla II (c. 945-48 A. D.), might have also been in the employ of the latter's immediate predecessor Mahīpāla (c. 912-45 A. D.). And thus the prince Tantrapāla of the Harsha stone inscription may be identical with Mādhava, the Tantrapāla, of the Pratabgarh stone inscription.[29] And as prince Tantrapāla is said to have belonged to the neighbourhood of the Ananta country (Anantapārśva)[30], *i. e.*, Śākambharī, and as the ending Pāla in his name suggests, he may be taken to be a scion of the Tomara family of Delhi who were feudatories of the imperial Pratīhāras.[31]

But what could have been the command of his overlord which Tantrapāla was charged to deliver to the Chāhamāna prince, a fendatory Chief ? It may be, however, pertinent to conclude here that the Chāhamānas under the vigorous rule of Mahāraja Vākpatirāja were perhaps showing signs of independence. But the Pratīhāra emperor Mahīpāla, powerful as he was, could brook no such signs of disloyalty on the part of his feudatory and asked him to submit which he very probably did after the harassment of prince Tantrapāla.

He was a great warrior and the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya credits him with 188 victories in the field of battle.[32]

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[29] ibid, pp. 176-88.

[30] ibid, vol. II, p. 121, verse. 16

[31] Rajputana Museum Report 1924, p. 3; also DHNI, vol. II, p. 1148.

[32] PV, V, 41.

This clearly indicates that in the race for power he waged constant wars, both offensive as well as defensive, and with a view to making himself supreme in the neighbourhood and to finally break away from the Pratīhāra suzerainty, he formed a matrimonial alliance with prince Harsha of the rising family of the Chandellas of Jeja-Bhukti.[33] The Bijaulia inscription calls him Vindhya-nṛipati.[34] It was, however, not possible to conquer the distant region round the Vindhya hills in Central India during his reign. He perhaps subjugated Bijaulia in Mewar which was also known as Vindhyāvatī[35] and hence this epithet'.[36] During his reign the Chāhamāna family acquired a distinctly higher status as is revealed by the epithet Mahārāja first assumed by him in the family.

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He was a worshipper of Śiva and built at Pushkara a temple (Prāsāda) for Vyomakeśa (Śiva) which looked like Kailaśa.[37]

Simharāja (c. 944-71 A. D.) : Vākpatirāja had at least three sons namely Simharāja, Vatsarāja[38] and Lakshamaṇa, of whom the first succeeded him on the throne while the last carved out for himself a principality in Naḍḍūla and thus established there a separate dynasty.[39] The Harsha stone inscription tells us that he defeated the Tomara leader with Lavaṇa[40] and captured and put to flight the princes that had gathered under his generalship. These captured princes were kept in prison until his overlord, who belonged to the family of Raghu, came to his house in person to librate them.[41]

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[33] Harsha married a suitable lady of equal caste (Savarṇā) named Kanchukā sprung from the Chāhamāna family. EI, vol. I, p. 126, V. 21.

[34] JASB, 1886, vol. LV, part I, p. 41, verse 13.

[35] MNK, vol. I, pp. 104-05, footnote 2.

[36] Mr. A. K. Vyas, however, takes Vindhya-nṛipati as a king who succeeded Vākpatiraja. EI, Vo. p. 91.

[37] PV, V, 43.

[38] IA, 1913, p. 60.

We have seen above that the Chāhamāna princes continued to be feudatory chiefs under the Pratīhāra emperors of Kannauj who maintained in tact their imperial position at least till the middle of the 10th century A. D. Hence the overlord of Simharāja could have been no other than a prince of this dynasty, which, as we know from Rājaśekhara, belonged to the Raghukula family.[42] Thus the 'Raghu-Kule-Bhūchakravartin' might have been either Devapāla (c. 948-53 A. D.) or one of his weak successors, possibly Rājyapāla (c. 959-989 A. D.) during whose reign decline set in the empire and the outlying provinces began to assert their independence. 'The fact that the overlord had to come personally to the house of his feudatory to effect the release of prisoners is sufficient evidence of the increasing importance of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī and of the decline of the imperial power of Kannauj.'[43]

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[39] SJGM, vol. II, pp. 101-03 ; EI, vol. IX, pp. 64, 67 and 71.

[40] EI, vol. II, p. 127 ; Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar however translates Tomaranāyakam Salavaṇam as Salavaṇa, the Tomara leader. IA, 1913, p. 58.

[41] IA, 1913, p. 58. Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the reference 'Raghu-Kule-Bhūchakravartī Svayam' is to Rāma or Vishṇu and the taking away of Simharāja. EI, vol. II, p. 127 and also Foot note.

[42] IA, 1913, p. 59.

The annihilation of the Tomara leader reminds us once again of the race for power going on for generations between the two rival families, in which the fortune ever favoured the Chāhamāna hosts. Though not mentioned by name, the Tomara leader perhaps belonged to the ruling family at Delhi and may be identified with king Tejapāla (c. 940-61 A. D.) of the Kamaon and Garhwal manuscripts.[44]

The Hammīra Mahākāvya tells us that Simharāja defeated in battle the kings of Karṇāṭaka, Lāṭa, Gujrāta, Chola and Anga.[45] We cannot literally accept this statement, which is more by way of a hyperbole, for it was not possible for the Chāhamāna prince to wage wars in distant parts of the country. He could not have crossed the kingdom of Kannauj to launch an expedition either in distant Anga or in the Chola country in the far south. This, however, does indicate the warlike activities on the part of the king of Śākambharī who might have won some victories against his neighbours. This is also borne out by the Harsha stone inscription where he is said to have 'annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction.'[46]

The Prabandha-Kośa[47] informs us that he defeated

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[43] DHNI, vol. II, p. 1064.

[44] Cunnimgham, Arch. Survey Reports, 1862-63, vol. I, p. 149.

[45] HM, I, 88-102.

[46] EI, Vol. II, p. 127.

[47] SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133.

Heji-ud-Din at Jeṭhan[48]; but according to the testimony of the Hammīra Mahākāvya the defeated Muslim General was Hetim, and the Chāhamāna king, after having killed him, took four of his elephants as prize of war.[49] It seems both the names here are but different forms of the name of one and the same person. It is, however, very difficult to identify the Muslim Commander, though it appears probable that he might have been a general in the army of the Amir of Multan, for Sindh by this time was fast losing its old vigour and vitality and hence it was not in a position to carry on a war of aggrandisement. This expedition which was perhaps taken against Hindu idolatry and also with a view to expanding the kingdom of Multan, failed signally to achieve its object. It certainly goes to the credit of the Chāhamānas, along with some other dynasties, to check the further advance of the arms of Islam who had already settled and consolidated their position in Sindh and Multan.

Simharāja was the first prince of the family who assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja.[50] This indicates that he threw off the yoke of suzerainty and made himself independent of the imperial Pratīhāras of Kannauj. The Chāhamānas accepted the overlordship of the family of Raghu as early as the reign of Nāgabhaṭa I, the founder of the family in the first half of the 8th century and this position continued without any break till the middle of the 10th century A. D.

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[48] Jeṭhan may be identified with Jethana, 20 miles from Ajmer. Sharda, Speeches and Writings, p. 201, footnote.

[49] HM, I, 102.

[50] IA, 1913, p. 60.

During this period the Chāhamānas contributed a good deal towards the consolidation of the Pratīhāra empire and their armies fought side by side with those of their suzerains in such distant countries as Bengal under the command of their prince Durlabharāja I.[51] Towards the west also most of the Arab expeditions against the empire were repulsed by them either single-handed or with the aid of their sovereigns. But the first attempt to make themselves free from the control of the Pratīhāras was made by Vākpatirāja in the first quarter of the 10th century and, though he could not apparently succeed, he did strengthen his position which ultimately made the task of his successor lighter. During the reign of Simharāja the Chāhamānas grew further in strength, so much so that his overlord was obliged to come to his house in person to liberate some captive princes. This fact itself is enough to prove that the Chāhamānas gained a position of equality with their former sovereigns whose age-long over-lordship came to its natural end and the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī became a sovereign power.

Like his father he was also a great devotee of god Śiva and built for him a large temple at Pushkara.[52] He also seems to have set up the gold shell (Aṇḍaka) of the spire of the temple of Śrī Harshadeva[53] and granted four villages namely Simhagoshṭha, Traikalakaka, Iśānakūpa and Kansapallikā for the maintenance of the temple.[54] In the Kinsariya grant he is spoken of as 'Naya-Sūtra-Yuktah' which probably means that he was well-versed in logic.[55]

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[51] PV, V, 20.

[52] PV, V, 45.

[53] IA, 1913, p. 58.

[54] ibid, p. 60.

II THE MINOR CHĀHAMĀNA DYNASTIES

The Chāhamānas of Lāṭadeśa.

A long forgotten branch of the Chāhamānas has recently come to light through the Hansot plates of a Chāhamāna prince Bhartrivaddha who issued this grant from Bhrigukachchha on the occasion of solar eclipse in (V. E.) 813, *i. e.*, 756 A. D. in the reign of increasing victory of the illustrious Nāgāvaloka.[1] This inscription traces the genealogy of the Chāhamāna princes of Lāṭa for six generations and, as the last prince flourished in the middle of the 8th century A. D., Sten Konow is inclined to propose c. 500 A. D. as the date of the first prince of this line by allowing a period of 30 years to each generation.[2] But this proposed period of about more than 250 years covered by six generations only looks rather too much and we may, therefore, by assigning 25 years for each generation, fix the date of the first prince Maheśvaradāma in c. 600 A. D. The king Nāgāvaloka of the inscription has been unanimously identified with king Nāgabhaṭa I of the Pratīhāra dynasty of Malwa which ultimately rose to the position of imperial power in northern India[3], and the Chāhamānas in different parts of the country including the house of Śākambharī owed allegiance to this dynasty during this period and even long afterwards. And as the most powerful prince of the Lāṭa family was only a feudatory (Mahāsāmantādhipati)[4] of king Nāgabhaṭa I, we are inclined to harzard a suggestion that the Chāhamāna family of Lāṭa migrated from their original home in Śākambharī to the south as camp-followers of their overlords in their southward expansion in Gujrat and Lāṭadeśa.

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[55] EI, vol. XII, p. 56.

[1] EI, vol. XII, pp. 197-204.

[2] ibid, p. 198.

[3] EI, vol. XII, p. 198; IA, 1913, P. 58.

The inscription assigns vague praises to the princes of this family. We learn from it that the first prince of this family was the glorious *Maheśvaradāma* 'whose lotus-like arm meant destruction to the swelling of the frontal globes of the elephants of his foes in the encounter of numerous battles.' His son was the illustrious *Bhīmadāma* 'whose only pleasure was prowess and whose pair of lotus-like feet was made exceedingly resplendent and shining through the multitude of jewels fixed on the surface of the diadems of several hundred kings.' His son was the illustrious *Bhartrivaddha* I 'whose lotus-like feet were rubbed against the edges of the crowns of numerous feudatories.' His son was the devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Paramamāheśvara), the illustrious *Haradāma*' who delighed all the three worlds with his fame and whose pair of feet was rubbed by the heads of kings bending before him.' His son was *Dhrubharadeva* 'who acquired the exalted splendour of the territories of all his adversaries.' His son was the glorious *Bhartrivaddha* II 'who was the repository of all good qualities, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, and who had obtained the five great sounds (Samadhigata-Panchamahāśabda)', and 'was the great feudatory overlord (Mahāsāmantādhipati), He is said to have possessed a large army and wielded considerable influence in the region round about.[5]

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[4] EI, vol XII, p. 204, Line 10.

Thus although the first five princes are said to have enjoyed high and eminent positions, the praises are mere boasts and poetic hyperboles and nothing definite or exact has been said about them. These princes appear to be insignificantly small feudatories and Dr. H. C. Ray rightly concludes that these vague praises 'combined with the absence of any title of even feudatory rank indicate that their position as rulers of Gujrat was not very conspicuous.'[6] Bhartrivaddha indeed distinguished himself from the rest and held his sway over an extensive territory then known as Lāṭadeśa. But, on the other hand, as the absence of any rank or title suggests, his predecessors, do not appear to be the rulers of this place which was actually under the possession of the Gurjaras right upto at least 736 A. D. The Gurjara power, however, was on the decline and Jayabhaṭa III, whose copper plate grants are dated 706 and 736 A. D., is the last of these rulers known to us. He is also said to have obtained the five great sounds and to have been a Mahāsāmantādhipati.[7] Thus the Gurjara prince Jayabhaṭa III has used exactly the same titles as Bhartrivaddha II which leads us to the conclusion that the former was succeeded by the latter as the ruler of Lāṭadeśa. It is, therefore, apparent that the real power passed into the hands of the Chāhamānas when the Gurjara family faded out of its existence. This further strengthens us in our proposition that, as long as the Gurjara family held its sway over Lāṭa, the Chāhamānas must have remained either mere non-entities in that region or they might not have been there at all. And as the inscription indicates, they might have acquired fame in the domain of arms, and, when the Gurjara family declined, they stepped in their shoes as feudatory rulers under the Pratīhāras of Ujjain.

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[5] EI, vol. XII, pp. 203-204, Lines 1-11.

[6] DHNI, vol. II, p. 1057.

[7] IA, vol. XIII, pp. 77 ff.

The similarity in the names of the Chāhamāna Dhrubharadeva (Dhruvabhaṭadeva) and the Maitraka king Dhruvabhaṭa śīlāditya VII of Valabhi is striking and it has led Sten Konow to venture the conclusion that by 'the use of the same name in the same vernacular form at about the same time in two families, which ruled as neighbours to each other, it seems probable that there had been some connection between the two families, and it is possible that the sister of Bhartrivaddha II was married to śīlāditya VI so that śīlāditya VII may have worn the name of his maternal grand-father.' He further says that as Bhaṭṭakakka, the writer of the grant, hailed from Valabhi, it may add some probability to the suggestion.[8] This conclusion, though highly probable, lacks evidence; but even though there existed no such relation between these two families, the adoption of the name Dhruvabhaṭa as a proper name by the Maitraka king śīlāditya VII indicates the growing importance of the Chāhamānas in Lāṭa.

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[8] EI, vol. XII, p. 199.

The ending 'Dāma' in the names of three princes of this branch of the Chāhamānas is also to be found in the names of several descendants of the Western Kshatrapa Chashṭana and, curiously enough, it has led to some erroneous conclusion by scholars. Thus in the opinion of Prof. Rapson it may well be a sanskritised form of a persian word.[9] But a mere superficial similarity in the name would not be enough to brand them as foreigners. The śakas had ruled Malwa and Gujrat for a long time and their association must have left behind an indelible mark on Hindu Society in which they lived, moved and had their being for centuries. They had no doubt adapted themselves to Indian ways of living; but at the same time they must have also influenced the culture of the country to a considerable extent by virtue of their position as rulers of the land. This similarity, therefore, may be taken to be a glaring instance of this mixed culture which had thus evolved out of the assimilation of these two civilized peoples. But even this similarity is a solitary instance in the long history of the Chāhamānas and consequently it might be taken to be an accident or an exception, for no other branch of the Chāhamānas bore such names any where at any other time.

Unfortunately the history of this branch comes to an abrupt end here and no sources are available at present to help us to construct the subsequent history of the Chāhamānas of Lāṭa for well over four hundred years. They might have, however, continued as feudatory rulers to the imperial Pratīhāras of Kannauj until this region was lost by them sometime in the middle of the 10th century A. D. But the thread of history comes to light again with the opening of the 13th century A. D. although our soucrces of information are exceedsingly meagre and we are not in a position to find out the exact relation existing between the early and the later families. But, as Broach was the base of power of both the families, we may conclude that they were connected by blood also.

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[9] Rapson : Catalogue of Indian Coins...The Āndhras and the Kshatrapas etc.

The main sources of our imformation regarding the history of this family in the 13th century A. D. are the Vasanta-Vilāsa of Bālachandra[10] the Hammīra-Mada-Mardana of Jayasimha[11] and the Sukritakīrtikallolinī of Someśvara.[12] The Chāhamānas of Lāṭa were surrounded during this period by the Chaulukyas of Gujrat, the Paramāras of Malwa and the Yādavas of Deogiri and consequently their position was always very precarious and it was indeed difficult for them to maintain their independence in the midst of such powerful neighbours. This appears to be the cause of their insignificance during the intervening period and when the Chaulukyas became supreme in Gujrat after the down-fall of the Pratīhāras, the Chāhamānas of Lāṭa might have transferred their allegiance to this family by accepting their suzerainty. But with the accession of Bhīmadeva II to the throne of Gujrat in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D. there was some confusion in the Chaulukya kingdom and most of the provincial lords raised their heads in revolt. The Chāhamānas, who were designated as Maṇḍaleśvara and Gurjara-Mahīkhaṇḍa-Mandalāhivai,[13] also appear to have risen in rebellion and probably they declared their independence and hence the term Bhupati applied to the Chāhamāna prince śankha by Bālachandra.[14] The southern side of their territory being highly vulnerable to attack by the Yādavas, it was frequently invaded by Simhaṇa, the Yādava king of Deogiri.

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[10] GOS No. 7

[11] GOS No. 10

[12] GOS No. 10

The Ḍholaka chief Vīradhavala was also a constant source of trouble to the family and the Vasanta-Vilāsa informs us that he had seized from his Chāhamāna neighbour the port of Cambay which was a highly flourishing town and appointed Vastupāla as the governor of this port.[15] The Chāhamānas could not reconcile themselves to this loss and, while Vīradhavala was engaged in a critical struggle against the kings of Marwar and Deogiri, Śankha, the lord of Broach, marched with a large army to recover the lost port. He sent an embassy to Vastupāla with the following message : " Vīradhavala, though powerful, is at present attacked by many kings of Marwar and his victory is nowhere to be seen. It is very rare that the Chāhamāna king comes here. Rule by making him to enter Cambay. Vīradhavala had given you orders with a smile for the protection of the city, but the appreciative Śankha will give you a country. Wavering in mind, if you do not make Śankha your lord, he will appoint another governor, when he has conquered Cambay. It is well-known that twelve feudatory chiefs, bound with a golden chain at his left foot, are weeping and rolling on ground. While attacked on one side by the sons of Arṇorāja making the king of Mālava interfere, and while on the other side the army of the Yādava king (Simhaṇa) came out like 'Kālakūṭa Poison from the Battle-ocean churned by the powerful Śrībhaṭa alone, the dreadful Śankha repulsed the army of the Yādava king. Fly, therefore, before, you come in his eyes, as no one will be ashamed by the flight of a Bania."[16]

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[13] GOS No. 10, Intoduction, p. XIV

[14] ibid, No. 7, Intrudction, p. VII.

[15] GOS, NO. 7, Introduction, p. VI.

To this message the brave Vastupāla sent back the following reply: "I am ready to meet Śankha, in the same way in which he wants to see me......My sword is ready....It is good that his foot has got a golden chain with the images of feudatory princes tied to it, but it pains me that his foot bore fetters in the prison of the Yādava king. You say that Śankha removed the pride of the army of the Yādavas on the bank of the Narbadā, but you do not tell me about his imprisonment..... If he be the same great son of Sindhurāja, let him come here at once, and select for battle any place he likes." This invitation to battle led to an engagement in which Śankha had some advantages in the beginning, but ultimately his army was routed and fled to Broach.[17] The Sukritakīrtikallolinī also refers to this defeat of Śankha.[18]

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[16] GOS, No. 7, Introduction, p. VI.

[17] GOS, No. 7, Introduction, pp. VI-VII, also footnote p. VIII.

[18] ibid, No. 10, Introduction, p. XIII.

From the above account it is clear that Śankha was the son of Sindhurāja and that he was a great warrior. He, while attacked on one side by the sons of Arṇorāja of Ḍholaka, made the Mālava king interfere, and himself repulsed on the banks of the Narbadā the invading army of the Yādava king Simhaṇa, which was led by his powerful general Śribhaṭa. But on a former occasion he is reported to have been defeated, shackled and put in prison by the Yādava king. We are, however, told that the personality of the Chāhamāna prince induced Simhaṇa to release him from prison.[19] Śankha appears to have enjoyed considerable power and prestige which is evident from the images of twelve feudatory princes tied to his left foot with a golden chain.

In the Hammīra-Mada-Mardana Śankha is also known by the name Sangrāmasimha and is said to be the son of Sindhurāja, brother of Śrīsimha, the king of Lāṭadeśa.[20] This drama informs us that Vastupāla, the high minister of Viradhavala, was successful in bringing about a friendship with Śrīsimha, the ruler of Broach. He is further credited to have foiled Sangrāmasimha on former occasions when he had, remembering the enmity with his father, called in aid the army of Simhaṇa in his attempt against Vīradhavala. On a differrent occasion, however, which forms the main theme of the drama, Simhaṇa, encouraged by Sangrāmasimha, is ready to march with his army against Vīradhavala who was already attacked by the Turushkas and Devapāla, the king of Mālava (c. 1218-36 A. D.). But the wise minister

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[19] ibid, No. 7, Introduction, p. VIII.
[20] ibid, No. 10, Introduction, p. XIV.

Vastupāla succeeded in effecting a split through a spy and Simhaṇa and Sangrāmasimha were consequently separated from each other. This led the latter to flee in fear from the field of battle.[21]

The Chāhamānas, however, could not continue their independent existence in this grim struggle for power and, before long, they were suppressed by Vīradhavala, and from the colophon of a palm leaf manuscript we find that Lāvaṇyasimha, the son of Tejahpāla, the high minister of the Ḍholaka princes Vīradhavala and his son Vīsaladeva, was the governor of Broach, the seat of Chāhamāna power, in V. E. 1296 (1239 A.D.)[22]. But, inspite of this heavy odd, they continued their precarious existence, though not independently, and we find Chāhamāna municipalities in the Lāṭadeśa, even as late as V. E. 1533 (1478 A.D.)[23].

THE CHĀHAMĀNAS OF DHOLPUR

The discovery of a stone inscription at Dholpur has brought into light the existence of a Chāhamāna dynasty at Dhavalapurī. According to this inscription, which contains the genealogy of the Chāhamāna prince Chanḍamahāsena, there was born in the Chāhamāna race a prince named Tsuka whose son was Mahisharāma. After the latter's death his queen Kanhulla is said to have performed 'sati'. Their son was Chaṇḍamahāsena or Chaṇḍa who ruled at Dhavalapuri in 842 A.D.[24]

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[21] GOS, No. 10, Introduction, pp. VI-VII.

[22] ibid, Introduction, p. XV.

[23] ibid, Introduction, p. V.

As this prince was a contemporary ruler with the great Pratīhāra emperor Bhojadeva I (c. 836-85 A.D.) of Kannauj, we may conclude that he was a feudatory chief owing allegiance to the latter. We learn from the inscription that the Mlechchha lords, who had established themselves on the banks of the Charmaṇvatī (Chambal), paid him homage. Dr. H. C. Ray suggests that possibly there was some Arab settlement during that period in the Chambal valley as a result of a long series of Arab raids from the lower Indus valley.[25] But it does not seem possible for the Arab rulers of Sindh, who were definitely hostile to the Pratīhāras of Kannauj, to have advanced in the interior of the Pratīhāra empire and founded their settlements in the Chambal valley 'as a result of a long series of Arab raids.' So if they are to be identified with the Arabs, which appears quite plausible, they could have settled there only as peaceful traders, and not as conquerors or intruders, with the explicit permission of the Pratīhāra kings of Kannauj. Nothing is, however, known at present of any possible successors of prince Chaṇḍamahāsena of Dhavalapuri.

THE CHĀHĀMANAS OF PARTABGARH

We learn from the second part of the Partābgarh inscription of the Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla II, dated

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[24] Edited by Hultzsch, ZDMG, vol. XL, pp. 38-42.

[25] DHNI, vol. II, p. 1059, footnote 4.

946 A.D.[26] that a local Chāhamāna dynasty which owed allegiance to the Pratīhāra kings of Kannauj, was ruling at Partabgarh during the middle of the 10th. century A.D.. This family is said to have been 'the source of great pleasure to king Bhojadeva.' The inscription reveals that the founder prince of this dynasty was *Govindarāja* who is spoken of as having 'fought against many foes.' His son and grandson were *Durlabharāja* and *Mahāsāmanta Śrī Indrarāja* respectively. The latter built the temple of Indrādityadeva (sun-god) at Ghontavarshikā,[27] and at his request 'the great feudatory lord and governor' Mādhava, stationed at Ujjaini, bestowed the village of Dharapadraka,[28] with all its appurtenances, for repairs to, and maintenance of daily services at, the temple.[29]

The Chāhamānas, as a power, had accepted the suzerainty of the Pratīhāra dynasty of Kannauj as early as the middle of the 8th. century A.D. and their mutual good relations are borne out by the Prithvirāja Vijaya as well. This work informs us that the Chāhamāna princess Kalāvatī, the sister of King Gūvaka II (c. 863-90 A.D.) of Śakambharī, was given in marriage to the Kānyakubjendra[30] who has been identified with king

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[26] EI, vol. XIV, pp. 176-88.

[27] It may be identified with Ghontarsi, seven miles east of Partabgarh and about eight miles north-east of Kharot. (ibid, p. 178).

[28] Dharapadraka is probably Dharyabad (in Mewar), situated near the boundary of the Partabgarh state. (ibid, p. 181)

[29] ibid, pp. 180-181, and 184-86, lines 14-26.

[30] PV, V, 30-31.

Bhojadeva of Kannauj (c. 836-85 A.D.).[31] Prince Govindarāja, therefore, whose family has been described to have been 'the source of great pleasure to king Bhoja deva' and 'who helped him in his wars', appears to have been a scion of the main dynasty of the Chāhamānas at Śākambharī, who migrated to this part and founded his dynasty at Partabgarh apparently through the favour of his suzerain and over-lord Bhojadeva. His successors maintained the position of feudatory rulers and Mahāsāmanta Indrarāja was a vassal chief of the Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla II and was immediately subordinate to the provincial governor of Ujjain.

Nothing is known of the successors of Indrarāja, but, as the power of the imperial Pratīhāras of Kannauj began to decline in the third quarter of the 10th. century A.D., and the outlying provinces began to secede from it, the Chāhamānas of Partabgarh also might have shaken off their bond of allegiance from the family of their former overlords. To which power, however, they ultimately transferred their allegiance is far from certain, although we may venture to suggest, on the basis of their nearness to Ujjain, that with the growing power of the Paramāras in that region they might have been finally submerged in the Paramāra kingdom of Malwa.

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[31] Supra, p. 96.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHĀHAMĀNAS AS SOVEREIGN POWER

Since the middle of the 10th. century A.D. the power of the imperial Pratīhāras of Kannauj began to decline and to all intents and purposes king Devapāla (c. 948-53 A.D.) was probably the last of the great rulers of this family. We have seen above that either during his reign or soon after the Chāhamāna king Simharāja made an effort with a view perhaps to declaring himself independent of the Pratīhāras of Kannuaj and assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja. His sovereign Devapāla or Vijayapāla, in order to reassert his overlordship, sent an army against the Chāhamāna prince who proved too strong for the imperial forces. The Pratīhāra emperor, therefore, was obliged to go in person to the Chāhamāna court to liberate the captive princes of his army.[1]

This clearly indicates the turn of tide in favour of the Chāhamānas and hereafter the Pratīhāra kings of of Kannuaj were unable to bring them back to their original status of a feudatory state. After Devapāla the imperical throne was occupied by a set of weak kings who failed to stem the tide of disintegration in the empire and one by one the outlying provinces began to assert their independence. The Chāhamāna princes of Śākambharī, who were distantly situated from Kannauj, utilised this opportunity to their advantage and by the last quarter of the 10th. century A.D. they made themselves a sovereign state by throwing off the yoke of Prātihāra suzerainty altogether.

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[1] IA, 1913, p. 58 and 60 ; EI, vol. II, p. 127. Supra, p. 101.

Vigraharāja II (c. 971-998 A.D). was probably the first prince of this family who was really an independent king. He ascended the throne of Śākambharī after the death of his father Simharāja. The Prithvīrāja Vijaya[2] informs us that he defeated the Gurjara king Mūlarāja who is said to have humiliated himself by flying to Kanthādurga for shelter.[3] This is further borne out by the Surjana-Charita which records the defeat of the Gurjaras and their being deprived of their possessions by the Chāhamānas.[4] According to the Hammīra Mahākāvya, however, the struggle ended with fatal results for king Mūlarāja whose country was also taken possession of by the Chāhamāna king.[5]

The Gujrat chronicler Merutunga also speaks of this conflict and says that king Mūlarāja was attacked simultaneously by Vārappa and the ruler of Śākambharī, and, when unable to resist them, he took shelter in the Kanthādurga.[6] This incident is indirectly referred to in the Kādi grant of the Chaulukya king himself, dated 987 A.D. We learn from it that Mūlarāja resembled 'Trayambaka (Śiva) since he took up his residence on a mountain, just as the god dwells on the mount (Kailāśa).[7]

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[2] PV, V, 51.

[3] Kanthādurga is to be identified with modern Kanthakot in the eastern Vagad division of Kachh. IA, vol. VI, p. 184.

[4] Surjana-Charita, VI, 3-14 ; also NPP, vol. XLVI, p. 208.

[5] HM, II, 9.

[6] Tawney, Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, p. 23.

[7] Trayambaka ivavihitāchalāśrayah. IA, vol. VI, pp. 183-84.

Merutunga, however, while giving no credit to Mūlarāja for victory over the Chāhamāna king, tries to create the impression that the latter was persuaded or compelled to retire by the former's bravery and diplomacy.[8]

It appears to be a difficult problem to reconcile the conflicting views of the respective authors. But, while discrediting the statement of the Hammīra Mahākāvya that Mūlarāja lost his life in the engagement, we may safely conclude with Sri Bhagwanlal Indraji that, as the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi represents Mūlarāja as visiting the Chāhamāna camp and saying to him that he should keep quiet and not give him a side-blow while he was punishing Vārappa, he was really defeated, but on his submission the Chāhamāna prince did not press his advantage.[9] Mūlarāja, however, appears to have ceded some portion of his territory to his Chāhamāna adversary to win him over.

The Prithvīrāja Vijaya further tells us that Vigraharāja II, with his army, overran the country round the Narmadā and eclipsed the glory of the king of the lunar race which shone there. He then built at Bhrigukachchha a temple for goddess Āśāpurī, the stairs of which touched the Revā (Narmadā) and embraced the moon.[10] As Bhrigukachchha was in the possession of the chaulukya prince Vārappa, the ruler of Lāṭa,[11] the above passage definitely alludes to the defeat of Vārappa at the hands of the Chāhamāna king. The Dvāśraya Kāvya, on the other hand, describes the defeat and death of Vāṛappa by the arms of Mūlaṛāja and his son Chāmuṇḍa who had advanced in the Lāṭa kingdom as far as Bhrigukachchha.[12] The Suṛat grant of Trilochanapāla, however, credits Goggirāja, the son of Vārappa, to have relieved his own land which was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons.[13] It appears that after the submission of Mūlaṛāja to Vigraharāja both of them combined against Vārappa, the king of Lāṭadeśa, and defeated and killed him. And Vigrahaṛāja, in order to commemorate his victory over his distant foe, built the temple at Bhrigukachchha (Broach).

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[8] Tawney, Prbandha Chintāmaṇi, pp. 24-25 ; also BG, vol. I, part I p. 158.

[9] BG, vol. I, part I, p. 159 ; also DHNI, vol. II. p. 939.

[10] PV, V, 52-53.

[11] Surat grants of Kīrtirāja and Trilochanapāla, IA, vol. XII, pp. 196-205.

These victories in war clearly indicate that Vigraharāja II was a powerful king[14] whose arms crossed the frontiers and reached as far south as the Narmadā. He possessed a large cavalry force and was called "the enveloper of the sun in the darkness of the dust raised by the heels of his horsemen," and was very forbearing towards his enemies who submitted to him.[15] In the Harsha stone inscription of his reign he is said to have granted two villages–Chhatrachara and Śankaranka–for the maintenance of the temple of Śṛi Harshadeva.[16]

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[12] ibid, vol. IV, p. 111.

[13] ibid, vol. XII, p. 203. verses 10-11.

[14] He is also said to have sent aid to Jayapāla, Rājā of Lahore and Kabul against the Ghazni king Sabuktagin in 987 A. D. Cunningham ; Arch. Sur. Reports 1864-65, vol. II, p. 256.

[15] PV, V, 47-48.

[16] IA, 1913, p. 59.

Durlabharāja II (c. 998-1012 A.D.) succeeded his brother on the throne. The Kinsariya grant of his reign, dated 999 A.D., informs us that he earned the epithet of Durllanghya-Meru, as none of his enemies could transgress his orders. Verse 12 of the same grant represents him as having conquered the country called Rasośittana.[17] The vague praise showered on him in the grant of his feudatory Dadhīchikā Chachcha may only indicate that he successfully maintained the high reputation of his family and added to his kingdom the territory of Rasośittana maṇḍala. It is no doubt difficult to make out as to what part of the country this maṇḍala belonged, but we may venture to identify it with the modern Rohtak District in the Punjab, which appears to be a corrupt form of Rasośittana. This district then formed a part of the Tomara kingdom of Delhi and the age-long enmity between the two houses may only help us in this identification. The name of his minister was Mādhava.[18]

The Raja of Ajmer[19] who joined the great confederacy of Hindu chiefs under Ānandapāla, the son of Jayapāla, to oppose Sultan Mahmud in 1008 A.D., appears to be Durlabharāja II. They however failed in their attempt and the Sultan repeatedly invaded the country and plundered it.

Govindarāja II (c. 1012-26 A.D.) followed his brother as king. The Prabandha-Kośa credits him with victory over Sultan Mahmud.[20] Dr. H.C. Ray doubts the reliability of this statement because it is omitted in the much more reliable Prithvīrāja Vijaya.[21] But the above statement is also supported by Firishta who tells us that Mahmud reached Multan in Ramzan of A. H. 415 (December, 1024 A. D.), from whence he crossed the desert to Ajmer. " Here finding that the Raja and inhabitants had abandoned the city rather than submit to him, Mahmud ordered it to be sacked and the adjacent country to be laid waste," but realising that the siege of the fort (of Tārāgarh) would occupy too much time, he left it unmolested, and proceeded on his march to Narhwala, the capital of Gujrat. The Muslim historian further says that at the close of the campaign in A. H. 417 (1026 A. D.) Mahmud was obliged to return to Ghazni by the route of Sindh, as Bhīmadeva I of Gujrat with the Raja of Ajmer and others had collected a great army to oppose him in the desert.[22] That he left unmolested such an important strategic point as Ajmer and avoided an engagement on his way home only show his prudence and general ship. He was not prepared to unnecessarily waste his time and energy over the reduction of a fort, however important, while he was bound for another destination and, once his aim was achieved, he wisely decided, like a seasoned and experienced general, not to meet his powerful foes.

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[17] EI, vol. XII, pp. 56-61.

[18] PV, V, 54.

[19] Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Reports, 1864-65, vol. II, p. 256.

[20] SJGM, vol. VI, p. 133.

Vakpatirāja II (c. 1026-40) came to the throne after his father Govindarāja II. The Prithvīrāja Vijaya showers a volley of conventional praise on him and speaks highly

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21. DHNI, vol. II, p. 1069.
22. Briggs. TF., vol. I, pp. 69 ff.

of his war-like activities for which he appears to have been long remembered.[23] It, however, records his conflict with Ambāprasāda, the lord of Āghāṭa, and tells us that the former rent asunder the mouth of the latter with a dagger (Chhurikā) and sent him along with his army to the abode of Yama.[24] This Āghāṭa has been identified with modern Ahar, two miles from Udaipur near the railway station and was during this period the royal residence of the Guhila princes.[25] We may, therefore, identify this Āghāṭapati with Ambāprasāda, also called Āmraprasāda, of the line of the Guhila princes of Mewar, who is placed between Śaktikumāra[26] and Śuchivarman.[27] This is the earliest instance of the conflict between the Chāhamānas and the princes of Mewar.

Vīryarāma (c. 1040 A.D.) succeeded his father to the throne, but he appears to have enjoyed sovereignty only for a short while and was killed, according to the testimony of the Prithvīrāja Vijaya, by king Bhoja, the lord of Avanti (c. 1010.-55 A.D.).[28]

Chāmuṇḍarāja (c. 1040-65), the brother of Vīryarāma, ascended the throne after his death. He built at Narapura,[29] a temple for God Vishnu.[30] The Prabandha

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[23] P. V., V, 61-62.

[24] Ibid, V, 59-60.

[25] DHNI, Vol. II, P. 1174.

[26] His earliest known date is 977 A. D. IA, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186-89.

[27] Ibid, Vol. XXII, pp. 80-81 ; ASI, wc, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2214 ; Ojha : History of Rajputana Vol. II, p. 440.

[28] PV, V, 67.

[29] Modern Narwar situated in Kishengarh territory at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer. JRAS, 1913, p. 272.

[30] PV., V, 68.

Kośa calls him 'the slayer of the Sultan'[31] while the Hammīra Mahākāvya credits him with having defeated and killed Hejim-ud-Din, the Muslim King.[32] His victory over the Muslims is further borne out by the Surjana Charita as well.[33]

As the Punjab formed a part of the Kingdom of Ghazni, Mahmud's successors often came into clash with the Hindu kings of India. It appears, therefore, that Chāmuṇḍarāja, whose kingdom lay adjacent to that of Ghazni, had to face once again the revival of Muslim invasion. But he rose equal to the occasion and defeated and drove away the Muslim intruders who ventured to enter his territory and probably killed their general as well.[34] After Maudud, however, the Sultans of Ghazin were too much engaged in their palace intrigues and mutual quarrels, and none of his successors is known to have personally led an expedition deep into India.

Durlabharāja III (c. 1065-70 A.D.), also called Vīrasimha, succeeded Chāmuṇḍarāja on the throne. According to the Prithvīrāja Vijaya he was killed in battle by the 'Mātangas' which has been explained by its commentator Jonarāja as 'Mlechchhas,' i. e., Muslims.[35] The Hammīra Mahākāvya also informs us of his conflict with the Muhammedans in which the Chāhamāna King captured Shahab-ud-Din.[36] This invasion, one of the series of Muslim incursions, the revival of which we have already noticed in the preceding reign, appears to have been undertaken during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim (1059-98 A.D.) in order perhaps to avenge their former defeat. And although the two authorities differ regarding the result of the battle, we may do better to agree with the Prithvīrāja Vijaya, certainly a more reliable and authentic work, that the struggle cost the Chāhmāna prince his life.

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[31] Suratrāṇabhanktā, SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 133.

[32] Śakādhirāja, HM. II, 24.

[33] Surjana Charita, VI, 42.

[34] This expedition was perhaps sent by king Maudud of Ghazni (1040-49 A. D.) who himself was waiting about 1041-42 A. D. at Hansi for an opportunity to attack Delhi. CHI, Vol. III, p. 32 ; DHNI Vol. II, p. 1149.

[35] PV. V. 70. Mātanga Sangare-Mlechchha Sangrāme.

According to the testimony of the Prabandha-Kośa he captured in battle the Gurjara king, brought him to Ajmer in chains where he was made to sell curd in the market.[37] The Hammīra Mahākāvya refers to his conflict with Karṇadeva which ended with fatal results for the latter who was also deprived of his wealth[38]. If this Karṇadeva is identical with the Chaulukya king Karṇadeva (c. 1064-94 A.D.), which is quite probable on account of their contemporaniety, the old struggle revived once again and, accepting the statements of the Jain authors with a certain amount of reservation due to the omission of the incident in the Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya, we may conclude that the Gurjara king Karṇa sustained some minor defeat at the hands of his Chāhamāna opponent. He, however, could not have been killed by Durlabharāja, for he was alive even during the reign of his immediate successor.[39]

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[36] HM, II, 28.

[37] SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 133.

[38] HM, II, 31.

[39] PV, V, 78 ; DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1070.

Vigraharāja III (c. 1070-90 A.D.) ascended the throne after the death of his brother. The Prithvīrāja Vijaya tells us that he helped king Udayāditya of Malwa (1059-87A.D.)to establish peace and prosperity in his kingdom and gave him a horse, named Sāranga, with the help of which the Malwa king defeated the Gurjara king Karṇa (1064-94 A.D.).[40] This statement is also born out by the Surjana Charita.[41] There was no doubt confusion all around in the Paramāra Kingdom when Udayāditya came to the throne.[42] But, in order to beat off the evil influences and the enemies of the state, he perhaps sought the help of the Chāhamāna monarch and, the old gulf caused by the death of king Vīryarāma at the hands of the Paramāra king Bhoja (1010-55 A.D.), was bridged over by a matrimonial alliance.[43] His marriage with the Paramāra princess must have also given him a chance to visit Ujjayinī where he paid his homage to Lord Śiva.[44]

The Hammīra Mahākāvya credits him with victory over Shahab-ud-Din, the King of Malwa (?)[45] But as the

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[40] PV, V, 76-78. [41] Surjana Charita, VI, 47.

[42] DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 872.

[43] According to the testimony of the 'Visaladeva Rāso', a bardic poem, the Chāhamāna king Visaladeva (Vigraharāja) married Rājamatī, the daughter of king Bhoja of Dhar. (Canto I, Verses 20 to 70. Kashi Nagari Pracharini ed.) King Bhoja, however, appears to have been dead long before this marriage could be solemnised and the princess was given away in marriage to the Chāhamāna sovereign by her uncle Udayāditya. The Bijaulia rock inscription gives the name of his queen as Rājadevī (JASB, Vol. LV, part I, p. 41, Verse 14.).

[44] Surjana Charita, VI, 63-80. [45] HM, II, 37.

Muslim kingdom had not extended upto Malwa, this incident may refer to some Muslim incursion into the Chāhamāna territory under some Shahab-ud-Din, probably a general of Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni (1059-98 A.D.).

According to the testimony of the Prabandha Kośa he appears to have been a great debauch and took away by force the wife of a Brāhmaṇa, named Mahāsatyā whose curse ultimately brought about his death.[46]

Prithvīrāja I. (c. 1090-1110 A.D)[47] succeeded his father Vigraharāja III. The Prithvīrāja Vijaya states that he defeated and killed a body of 700 Chaulukyas who had come to the Pushkara Tīrtha to rob the Brāhmaṇas.[48] This incident might have taken place during the reign of either king Karṇa (1064-94 A.D.) or his successor Siddharāja Jayasimha (1094-1143 A.D.) of Gujrat. The Prithvīrāja Vijaya informs us that he built an Anna-Satra (alms house) on the road to Somanath for pilgrims.[49]

The Prabandha Kośa tells us that he pulled away the arms of Sultan Baguli Shah.[50] The Muslim historian

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[46] SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 133. This statement finds confirmation in the Prithvīrāja-Rāso which informs us that Visaladeva (Vigraharāja) became a gerat debauchee and when he spoiled the chastity of a Vaiśya girl, engaged in devotion to goddess Pārvatī, she cursed him and he consequently turned a demon named Dhundhā. (Rāso, I, 484-491, Kashi Nagari Pracharini ed.).

[47] The Bijaulia rock inscription gives the name of his queen as Rāsalyadevī. (JASB, Vol. LV, Part I, p. 41, Verse 14.)

[48] PV, V, 81.

[49] PV, V, 82.

[50] Baguliśāha Suratrāṇa Bhujamarddī, SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 133.

Minhaj-us-Siraj writes in his Tabakāt-i-Nāsiṛī that during the ṛeign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Masud of Ghazni (1098-1115 A.D.) "Hajib Taghatigin crossed the river Ganges, and made an incursion into Hindustan, carrying his arms farther than any army had reached since the dasy of Sultan Mahmud."[51] This Baguli Shah, therefore, appears to have been some other general probably under Hajib Taghatigin who side-tracked to invade the Chāhamāna kingdom. But Prithvīṛāja proved more than a match for him and the Muslim general sustained a cṛushing defeat.

Ajayarāja II. (c. 1110-35 A.D.) came to the throne after his father Prithvīṛāja I. He was as great a king as a warrior and in the domain of peace and war many achievements are attributed to his credit. According to the testimony of the Prithvīṛāja Vijaya he defeated Sulhaṇa, the king of Malwa.[52] This statement is confirmed by the Bijaulia rock inscription that Ajayarāja captured in battle Sulhaṇa, the commander-in-chief of the army, tied him up to the back of a camel and brought him to Ajmer.[53] But we find that during this period Malwa had no king of this name and consequently Sulhaṇa may be taken to be a general (Danḍanāyaka) of one of the Paramāra kings, possibly Naravarman.[54] A stone inscription also confirms his conquest of the country upto

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[51] Elliot ; Vol. II, p. 278.

[52] PV. V, 85.

[53] JASB, Vol. LV, part I, p. 41, V. 15 : JRAS, 1913, p. 272, foot note. 5.

[54] Dr. H. C. Ray identifies this prince with King Yaśovarman, the successor of Naravarman : DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1071.

Ujjain by defeating its king.[55] The Paramāras had faced repeated disasters at the hands of the Chaulukya sovereign Siddharāja Jayasimha which appears to have shaken the very foundation of their power in Malwa and consequently their jurisdiction was limited to a small territory.[56] The Chāhamāna king also must have taken an advantage of their weakness to extend the frontiers of his kingdom at their cost.

The Bijaulia Rock inscription further credits him to have put to death three heroes named Chāchchiga, Simdhala and Yaśorāja. They are associated with the localities of Śrīmārga and Durdda.[57] This Śrīmārga is apparently Śrīpatha which has been identified by Fleet with modern Bayana in the Bharatpur State.[58] Durdda, on the other hand, may be, on phonetic consideration, identified with modern Duddai or Dudhai in Central India in the neighbourhood of the Chāhamāna domains in eastern direction.[59] The three heroes, however, do not appear to have been independent rulers in their respective places but, in all probability, they might have been local chiefs owing allegiance to some neighbouring kings in those parts of the country.

The conquest of the country as far as Bayana and even beyond by king Ajayarāja II is further proved by

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55. This inscription was found in the Adhai-din-ka Jhonpra, at Ajmer and is now deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, JRAS, 1913, p. 272, fn. 5.
56. DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 884-85.
57. EI, Vol. XXVI, pp. 93 and 104, verse 15.
58. IA, Vol. XV, p. 239.
59. EI, Vol. XXVI, p. 93.

the discovery of his silver and copper coins in Mathura and other places.[60] Thus his conquest of these parts clearly indicates the gorwing power and importance of the Chāhamānas who were constantly engaged in extending the frontiers of their kingdom in different directions and it was indeed king Ajayarāja II who took up the first step towards the conquest of the northern plains of Hindustan by bringing the country at least upto Bayana under his direct control.

The Prithvīrāja Vijaya speaks of his victory over the Mlechchhas (Muslims) as well.[61] This is furher supported by the Prabandha Kośa which states that he defeated Sultan Shahab-ud-Din[62]. According to the Muslim historian Minhaj-us-Siraj, Sultan Bahram Shah of Ghazni (1117-1158 A.D.) " made several expeditions to Hindustan."[63] It is therefore quite likely that during his early Indian incursions[64] he came into clash with the Chāhamāna sovereign who drove him back to Ghazni.

The highest achievement of his reign, according to the Prithvīrāja Vijaya, was the foundation of the town of Ajayameru or Ajmer.[65] This town was, however, long in existence,[66] but it was Ajayarāja who first realised the strategic importance of the town for the Chāhamāna kingdom, and, therefore, enlarged and decorated it with magnificent palaces and probably changed his capital from Śākambharī to this place.[67]

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[60] IA, 1912, p. 209.

[61] Mātangān mlechchhānścha. PV. V, 113.

[62] Sahāvadīna Suratrāṇajitaḥ : SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 133.

[63] Elliot ; Vol. II, p. 279.

[64] The earliest was undertaken in A. H. 512 (1118 A. D.) ibid, p. 279.

[65] PV, V, 92-191.

[66] Sharda : Ajmer, pp. 37-38.

Ajayarāja appears to have maintained a fairly big establishment for the minting of coins. In the words of the poet he filled the earth with rūpakas (coins), made of Durvarṇa (Silver) and, while depriving the existing kings of their fame by his soldiers, fond of victory, he took away the fame of the past and future (kings) by his rūpakas (coins).[68] These coins were apparently minted in abundance and his silver and copper ones with an effigy of a seated goddess on the obverse and the inscription Śrī Ajayadeva on the reverse[69] are frequently met with in Rajasthan, Mathura and other places.[70] That his silver coins were current in the kingdom as late as the reign of his grandson Someśvara is proved by an unpublished inscription on a pillar in the Rūṭhī Rānī's temple at Dhod in Mewar.[71]

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[67] Jayānaka, the author of the Prithvīrāja Vijaya, is eloquent in the praise of the town and the palaces in it. He says that it was full of the temples of Gods and fully deserved the title of Meru (the abode of Gods). From its lofty houses one could pick up the stars like flowers, bow to the celestial river (milky way) and listen to the Seven Sages (in the Great Bear) reciting the Vedas in the evening. The golden city of Lanka as well as Dwarka are not fit to be the hand-maids of Ajmer, and it was, as it were, the husband of Indra's city, Amarāvatī. PV, V, 92-191 ; also Sharda : Speeches and Writings, pp. 204-05.

[68] PV, V, 88-89.

[69] Cunningham, however, calls that side of the coin 'obverse' which bears the royal legend.

[70] IA, 1912, p. 209.

[71] Tatkāla vartamāna raupyamaya Śrī Ajayadeva Mudrānkita Dramma Shoḍaśa. RMR, 1923, p. 2.

His dear consort Somelekhā as well has been referred to by Jayānaka to have new rūpakas (coins) every day.[72] This statement finds confirmation by the existence of certain silver and copper coins bearing on the reverse the legend Śrī Somaladevī or Śrī Somalladevī in Nagari characters.[73] Her silver coins, which are rare, bear on the obverse a degraded representation of type 'king's head' while the copper ones, the effigy of a horseman which generally appears on the coins of the Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer. These are among the rarely known coins of a queen in India. The silver and copper coins of Somaladevī are, however, of different designs from those of her husband, in type.[74]

Arṇorāja[75] (c. 1135-50 A.D.) ascended the throne of Ajmer after his father Ajayarāja. During this period both the Chāhamānas of Ajmer and the Chaulukyas of Gujrat were heading for supremacy in northern India and this again revived the old conflict between the two houses. In the beginning of his reign Arṇorāja had to measure swords with his Chaulukya rival Siddharāja Jayasimha (1094-1143 A.D.) but the result appears to be not very favourable to the Chāhāmāna sovereign. The Kīrti Kaumudī of Someśvara informs us that, although Siddharāja Jayasimha defeated Arṇorāja, the lord of Śākambharī, he gave his own daughter in marriage to him.[76] The Dvyāśraya of Hemachandra also confirms this statement that Ānā of Sapādalaksha bent his head before the Chaulukya Jayasimha.[77]

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[72] Pratyahaṁ Rūpakairnavaih kritairapi. PV, V, 90.

[73] The Bijaulia rock inscription gives the name of Ajayaraja's queen as Somalladevi which is apparently a variant of her name Somalekhā. JASB, Vol. LV, part I, p. 41, verse 14.

[74] IA. 1912, pp. 210-11.

[75] He is also called Analladeva, Analadeva, Ānaka, Ānāka and Ānā. NPP (new ed.) Vol. I, p. 393.

This matrimonial alliance patched up their differences only for a short while and hostilities broke out a fresh with the accession of Kumārapāla to the Chaulukya throne. Though the Jain Chroniclers mention only one war between the two sovereigns, recent researches clearly indicate two distinct wars separated from each other by several years and the incidents, as recorded in the chronicles, belong some to the first and some to the second war.[78] The first war appears to have been waged on account of the disputed accession to the throne of Pātana between Kumārapāla and Bāhaḍa, the adopted son (or favourite)[79] of Siddharāja Jayasimha.[80] Arṇorāja, being a son-in-law of Jayasimha, sided with Bāhaḍa who joined the army of the Chāhamāna king and induced him to undertake an invasion of Gujrat.[81] The Dvyāśraya of Hemachandra informs us that 'Ānnā began to make friends with Ballāla, the king of Ujjain, and the Rājās of the country on the west of Gujrat, holding out to them threats as well as promises. Kumārapāla's spies then made known to him that Ānnā Rājā was advancing upon the western frontier of Gujrat with an army[82].' This statement is further corroborated by the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi that Bāhaḍa, 'desiring to make war on Kumārapāla, having won over to his side all the officers in those parts with bribes, attentions and gifts, bringing with him the king of the Sapādalaksha country, surrounded with a large army, arrived on the borders of Gujrat.'[83]

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[76] Kīrtī Kaumudī (Bom. Sans. Series.), Canto. II, verses 27.29. p. 11 ; JRAS, 1913, p. 274 ; NPP. (New ed.) IV, part I, p. 21.

[77] IA, Vol. IV, p. 268.

[78] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 283.

[79] Kumārapāla Charita : Introduction, p. XI.

[80] Tawney : Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, pp.119-20 ; JBRAS, Vol. VII, p. 59.

[81] Kumārapāla Charita, Intruction, p. XI.

Thus during this war,[84] which took place soon after the accession to the throne of Kumārapāla, the Chāhamāna king was apparently the aggressor. And although the war appears to have ended in his discomfiture, for he was shot an arrow exactly in his face and lay prostrate on his elephant, while Kumārapāla shouted victory,[85] he certainly won the peace and Kumārapāla gave him his sister to wife.[86]

The Kumārapāla Prabandha of Jinamanḍana[87] as well as the Hemasūri Prabandha of Rājaśekhara Sūri[87A] bear testimony to the cause of their second war. They clearly state that Arṇorāja's ill-treatment of his wife Devaladevī,[88] the sister of Kumārapāla, in a game,[89] brought about this war[90] and the latter invaded the Chāhamāna kingdom to avenge himself of the insult.[91] This war also ended in the favour of the Chaulukya rival who defeated the ruler of Śākambharī and devastated the Sapādalaksha country.[92]

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[82] Forbes' Rāsmālā, p. 142.

[83] Tawney : Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, p. 121.

[84] H. B. Sharda rightly fixes the date of this war sometime between 1143 and 1145 A. D. : Speeches and Writings pp. 284-85.

[85] Kumārapāla Charita, Introduction, pp. xi-xii.

[86] SJGM, Vol.II, p. 38; Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 286.

[87] Ibid, p. 286.

[87A] SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 50.

[88] Also called Premaladevī...ibid, Vol. II, p. 38.

[89] Ekadā tau sāribhiḥ krīḍataḥ SJGM. Vol. VI, p. 50.

The Bijaulia Rock inscription informs us that Arṇorāja showed disrespect to one called Nirvvananārāyaṇa and brought him to humiliation.[93] This Nirvvananārāyaṇa may be identified with the Paramāra prince Naravarman of Malwa who bore it as an epithet of himself.[94] This incident, however, appears to have taken place during the reign of his father, Ajayarāja II, who won a victory against the Paramāras of Malwa.[95] We are further told by an unpublished stone inscription that the warriors of king Arṇorāja captured the elephants of the king of Malwa.[96] This may have happened during the rign of the next king Yaśovarman (1134-42 A. D.) when his capital Dhārā was besieged by king Siddharāja Jayasimha of Gujrat.

We learn again from the Bijaulia Rock inscription that king Arṇorāja retaliated on the kingdom of Kuśavaraṇa.[97] Although it is difficult to identify the kingdom mentioned in the inscription, Mr. A. K. Vyas has ventured to offer a suggestion that Kuśa and Varaṇa were two separate kingdoms and as such Kuśa may denote Kuśasthala[98] which has been identified with Kannauj.[99] Mr. Vyas argues that as Dudhai was already under the possession of the Chāhamānas of Ajmer they might have, in confirmity with their policy of expansion, taken the route northward to Kannauj from Dudhai-in central India..[100] Varaṇa, if taken separately, is of course Bulandshahar, [101] which was then under the control of the Ḍoḍas or Ḍoḍiyas.[102].

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[90] This war possibly took place some time in V. E. 1207 (1150 A.D.) Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 285.

[91] ibid, p. 285,

[92] E. I., Vol. II, p. 422.

[93] EI, Vol. XXVI, pp. 94 and 104, verse 17.

[94] Bhandarkar's List, p. 397.

[95] PV, V, 85 ; JASB, Vol. LV, part I, p. 41, Verse 15 : JRAS, 1913 foot note 5.

[96] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 263.

[97] EI, Vol. XXVI, pp. 95 and 104, Verse 17.

Our main difficulty lies with Kannauj here. Mr. Vyas proceeds on the assumption that Kannauj was a weak kingdom. On the contrary, we know it for certain that during this period Kannauj was ruled by Govindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.) the most powerful king of the Gāhaḍawāla family and it was apparently not an easy task for the Chāhamāna king to attack Kannauj straight way without serious consequences. It may, however, be possible that the Ḍoḍiyas of Bulandshahar, owing allegiance to the king of Kannuaj, might have given some cause for offence to the Chāhamāna śovereign who attacked their country in retaliation and probably brought them under his control. It was thus the second step the Chāhamānas of Ajmer took under their king

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98. ibid, p. 94.
99. Geog. Dic. of Anc. and Medi. India, p. 111.
100. EI. Vo. XXVI, p. 94.
101. Geog. Dic. of Anc. and Medi. India p. 23 ; Elliot, Vol. II. p. 458.
102. EI, Vo. XXVI, p. 94.

Arṇorāja to extend the frontiers of their kindom towards the Gangetic plains right upto modern Bulandshahar in the uttar Pradesh.

The Prithvirāja Vijaya states that Arṇorāja dealt a crushing blow to the Muslim army of invasion which invaded the Chāhamāna kingdom. They came via the desert, where for want of water they had to drink the blood of their horses by striking their shoulders with their weapons. Large number of them in heavy armour were killed by the heroes of Ajmer. The poet informs us that this victory was celebrated in Ajmer with great eclat[103] and, in order to purify the place, where the Musalmans had fallen, the king constructed a lake[104] and filled it with the water of the river Chandrā[105] which takes its rise in the forest of Pushkara (Pushkarāraṇya).[106]

Dr. H. C. Ray calls it an unrecorded instance of Muslim invasion of India from the Yaminis of Lahore. [107] But if we turn to the pages of the Tabakat-i-Nasiri, we find that Bahram Shah, the king of Ghazni (1117-58 A.D.) made several expeditions to Hindustan.' One Muhammad Bahalim, once captured but ultimately liberated by him during his early invasion, is said to have again revolted and built the fort of Nagor in the Siwalik hills. Bahram Shah proceeded to Hindustan to subdue the fort and Muhammad Bahalim marched towards Multan to meet him. He gave battle to the Sultan but fell fighting along with his ten sons, so that no trace of him was left. Bahram Shah then left for Ghazni to fight the king of Ghor.[108]

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[103] An unpublished stone inscription, now deposited in the Rajputana museum, Ajmer, also confirms the statement that he adorned the land of Ajmer with the blood of Turushkas, as a woman, whose husband returns alive and victorious from war, adores herself in clothes of red Kusumbha colour. Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 263.

[104] This lake is the famous Ānā Sāgara, the most beautiful sight of Ajmer . This is also borne out by the Hammīra Mahā kāvya, Canto II, verse 51.

[105] Now called the Bāndī river. Further down its course, it is known as the Luni river. Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 206, foot note I.

[106] PV, VI, 1-23.

[107] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1074.

In this account of Minhaj-us- Siraj the most striking thing is the fort built at Nagor by a Muslim. We know that Nagor continued to be in the possession of the Chāhamānas since their earliest days and it is no where said to have been lost by them. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the once captured and liberated Muhammad Bāhalim, after his next revolt against the authority of the Shah, took shelter in the Chāhamāna court. The only plausible explanation of his having built a fort at Nagor appears to be that the Muslim refugee was given not only shelter but was also awarded the fief of Nagor. And, as the invasion of Ghazni by the Ghorian king Ala-ud-Din indicates, this event might have taken place sometime late in the reign of king Arṇorāja. This must have annoyed the Shah who set out with his army of invasion to punish the revolted officer as well as the king of Ajmer who had given protection to the rebel. There is every likelihood, therefore, that after his victory at Multan against Bāhalim, the Shah proceeded towards Ajmer via the desert. His aim, however, appears to have been, like that of his great ancestor Mahmud, to plunder the Pushkara Tīrtha. But he had to pay heavily for his adventure and, in the words of Jayānaka, a large number of Muslim soldiers were practically slaughtered by the heroes of Ajmer. As is usual with Muslim historians, Minhaj seems to have deliberately omitted to record the defeat of the Shah of Ghazni and hastens to make him return after his victory at Multan.

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[108] Elliot : Vol, II, pp. 279-80.

Arṇorāja built a temple of Śiva in the name of his father Ajayarāja.[109]. According to the testimony of the Prithvīrāja Vijaya, Arṇorāja had of his Queen Śudhavā[110] a Marwar Princess, three sons who differed from one another as the three guṇas..[111] The eldest of them, however, rendered to his father the same service as Bhrigu's son (Paraśurāma) had rendered to his mother. But he himself went out like a flame of lamp leaving behind an evil smell.[112] Arṇorāja had thus a tragic end at the hands of his own son. Though Jayānaka does not give the name of this parricide, we are informed by the Hammīra Mahākāvya,[113] the Prabandha Kośa[114] as well as the Surjana Charita[115] that the immediate successor of Arṇorāja was Jagaddeva. The Prithvīrāja Vijaya, on the other hand, seems to indicate that Sudhavā's another son Vigraharāja, who was like Satva guṇa, was his father's immediate successor.[116]. It appears, therefore, that Jagaddeva, the parricide, had a very short reign and, before he had time to consolidate his position, his younger brother Vigraharāja forcibly ousted him and occupied the throne of Ajmer for himself.

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[109] This is the well known temple of Ajayapāla situated in a beautiful valley, 7 miles from Ajmer, to the south of the Taragarh hill. Sharda ; Speeches and Writing, p. 206, foot note 2.

[110] Of his next queen Kānchanadevī, the daughter of Siddharāja of Gujarat, he had another son named Someśvara, PV, VI, 34.

[111] Satva, Rajas and Tamas, PV, VI, 31.

[112] ibid, VII, 12-13 : also JRAS, 1913, p. 274.

[113] HM, II, 52-55.

[114] SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 133.

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[115] Surjana Charita, VIII, 26-27.

[116] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1074. JRAS, 1913, p. 274.

CHAPETR VII

THE IMPERIAL CHĀHAMĀNAS

I

VIGRAHARĀJA IV. (c. 1150-64 A.D)

The reign of king Vigraharāja IV is a land-mark in the history of the Chāhamāna dynasty. He raised his family to an imperial status by defeating or overawing practically all his political rivals in northen India. With the decline and disappearance of the Pratihāra empire the task of defending the north-western gates of the country had devolved upon their political successors, the Chāhamānas, who did not fail to rise equal to the occasion. For about half-a-century they accomplished the task with singular success and finally perished in their endeavour by the end of the 12th. century A. D. Vigraharāja IV was a powerful king who was feared or respected by almost all the courts in northern India. He extended the frontiers of his kingdom in different directions and gave peace and prosperity to his country. He also curbed the power of the Yamini dynasty of Lahore and saved the country from their frequent invasions.

(i) *Wars with the Turushkas* :—The Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer faced the onslaught of Muslim invasions every now and then with a constantly defensive policy towardsthem. But, as is apparent from epigraphical evidence, there was a gradual departure in this respect during the reign of king Vigraharāja IV. We learn from the Lalita

Vigraharāja Nātaka of his mighty preparations for a war and march against the Hammīra at the head of a huge army[1]. It seems he undertook this war 'to protect his friend', for had his own kingdom been threatened with an immediate invasion, his chief minister Śrīdhara would not have advised him 'not to risk a battle with a powerful adversary.' He was, however, determined to face the enemy in order to fulfil his obligations towards a friend and the country and was too proud to enter upon peaceful negotiations.[2],

The Hammīra, who is spoken of as a 'powerful adversary', was probably Bahram Shah of Ghazni (1117-57 A.D.), whose kingdom extended as far as the Punjab. He is reported to have come to Hindustan when Ghazni fell into the hands of the Ghorians,[3] somewhere towards the end of his reign. During his stay in the Punjab he probably invaded the Tomara kingdom of Delhi, the frontiers of which were touching the Muslim kingdom at various points. The message of king vigraharāja IV to his lady-love Desaladevī, the daughter of prince Vasantapāla of Indrapura, that his march against the king of the Turushkas will soon give him an opportunity of joining her,[4] indicates that it was perhaps prince Vasantapāla himself whose territory, lying 'to the north' of the Chāhamāna kingdom, was attacked by the

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1. IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-12 ; Sharda : Speeches and Writings pp. 263-65.
2. IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-12 ; Sharda : Speeches and Writings pp. 263-66 ;
3. Elliot : Vol. II, pp. 279-80.
4. Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 264.

Hammīra. During this period the cheif of Delhi was king Anangapāla,[5] the last of the Tomaras. Prince Vasantapāla of the drama, therefore, might have been either Anangapāla himself, this being a variant of his name which is not improbable on account of the close association of 'Ananga' and 'Vasanta', or his own brother or a near relation, holding a fief at Indrapura.[6]

The inscription abruptly ends in the middle but we may conclude from the trend of the drama that 'Vigraharāja and the Hammīra did not fight on the present occasion, and the king was eventually united with his lady-love[7]. Minhaj-us-Siraj informs us that, when the Ghorians had retired from Ghazni, Bahram Shah came back to his capital. This might have led to the sudden retreat of the Ghazni king.

The struggle against the Muslims, however, did not end here. The Chāhamāna sovereign had simply foiled the attempts of the Muslims this time, but as his kingdom was touching the Muslim empire at more than one point, the clash was inevitable. This became all the more serious when Vigraharāja IV annexed the tottering Tomara kingdom into his own, thus extending the common frontiers considerably. The Delhi-Siwalik pillar inscription credits him with having made Āryāvarta once more what its name signifies by causing the barbarians (Mlechchhas) to be exterminated.[9] This clearly points out to his repeated conflicts with the Muslims of Ghazni and Lahore under Bahram Shah (1117-57 A.D.) and his successor Khusru Shah (1157-64 A. D.) and his consequent victories over them. The Prabandha-Kośa also calls him 'the conqueror of the Muslims.'[10]

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[5] Cunningham : Arch. Sur. Report, Vol. I, 1862-63, pp. 149 and 156-57.

[6] This Indrapura to the north of Ajmer is to be identified with ancient Indraprastha and Inderput of the Muslim writers, near Delhi.

[7] Sharda : Speeches and Writings,p. 265 ; IA, Vol. XX,pp. 201-212.

[8] Elliot : Vol. II, p. 280.

The Bijaulia rock inscription refers to his conquest of Āśika[11] which may be identified with the modern Hānsi.[12] This was probably an out-post of the Muslim empire in India, which the victorious arms of Vigraharāja IV seized from them. He was, however, not quite satisfied with his own achievements which were considerable, and hence his exhortation to his descendants 'to subdue the remainder'.[13] By the remainder he probably meant the Punjab which was still in the occupation of the Muslims.

(*ii*) *Wars with the Indian States* : The Bijaulia rock inscription refers to his conquest of Delhi.[14] The annexation of the territory round Delhi was the culmination of the long struggle between the Chāhamānas and the Tomaras since the 9th. century A.D. Formerly it formed a part of the Pratīhāra empire of Kannauj and the

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[9] IA, Vol. XIX, p. 216 ; Sharda : Speeches and Writings, pp. 253-54.

[10] SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 133.

[11] JASB, 1886, Vol. LV, part I, pp. 31 and 42, verse 22.

[12] IA, 1912, p. 17.

[13] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 254 ; IA, Vol. XIX, p. 216

[14] JASB, 1886, Vol. LV, part I, pp. 31 and 42, verse 22.

Tomaras, inhabiting this country, were their vassal chiefs.[15] That the Tomara kingdom of Delhi passed into the hands of the Chāhamānas from those of the Tomaras is amply borne out by various epigraphic records.[16] Before it happened this kingdom appears to have become independent after the dismemberment of the Pratīhāra empire of Kannauj. But their continuous conflicts with the Muslims on one side and with the Chāhamānas and other Indian dynasties on the other made them so weak that they were deprived of much of their power and prestige and finally of their territory. The Gāhaḍawālas, however, claimed to have extended their suzerainty upto Delhi in the time of king Chandradeva.[17] If it was so, the Gāhaḍawāla king Govindachandra or his son and successor Vijayachandra too must have suffered defeat at the hands of the Chāhamāna sovereign during his war-like expeditions[18] in that direction.

The date of the capture of Delhi appears to have been about 1152 A.D. The period of the Chāhamāna rule over

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[15] DHNI, Vol. II. p. 1147. The undated Pehowa Praśasti of the Pratīhāra emperor Mahendrapāla I (c. 885-910 A. D.) seems to show the settlement of the Tomaras in the Karnal district of the Punjab.

[16] The Palam Baoli inscription of 1280 A. D.
JASB, Vol. XLIII, pp. 104-110.
Delhi Museum inscription of 1328 A.D. EI, Vol. I, pp. 93-95.
The Kamaon-Garhwal manuscripts have it that 'Chuwān takhta baiṭhā Dillī rāj kiyā'...the Chohan sat on the throne and established his kingdom in Delhi. Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Rep. 1862-63, Vol. I, p. 156. Thomas : The Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 56.

[17] Dr. Tripathi : History of Kannauj, p. 320.

[18] ibid, pp. 319-20.

Delhi varies from 40½ years to 41½ years.[19] and, if we deduct the former from A.D. 1192, the final date of the passing away of Delhi into the hands of the Ghorians, we obtain 1151-52 A.D. as the approximate date of the conquest of Delhi by Vigraharāja. The Kamaon and Garhwal manuscripts place the capture of Delhi by the Chāhamānas in (V) S. 1191 or 1134 A.D. and its final conquest by the Muslim in (V) S. 1231 or 1174 A.D.[20] The latter event is thus dated by 18 years too early and if we proceed on the same assumption, the former also may safely be taken to be antidated by about the same number of years. This again gives us the date of the conquest of Delhi by Vigraharāja IV in 1152 A.D., which is in perfect agreement with the closing date of king Anangapāla III's reign.[21] But Anangapāla survived till 1170 A.D.[22] which clearly indicates that he ceased to be an independent ruler much before his death. Perhaps this last blow to the Tomara sovereignty came soon after the marriage of the Chāhamāna king with the Tomara princess Desaladevī, the daughter of Vasantapāla (Anangapāla III ?), and the Tomara chief might have been allowed for some time to rule over Delhi as a vassal. This removes the popular error which is connected with the epic Prithvirāja Rāso that Delhi was made over to Ptithvīrāja III by his maternal grand-father Anangapāla who then retired to Hardwar to lead an ascetic's life.[23]

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[19] Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Rep. 1862-63, Vol. I, p. 156.

[20] ibid, p. 156.

[21] ibid, pp. 149 and 156.

[22] ibid, p. 149.

[23] Prithvīrāja Rāso (Nagari Pracharini ed.) This popular belief is described in detail in the epic and is not entirely baseless.

Vigraharāja IV conquered the country even beyond the Delhi region. This finds full confirmation from the original find-spot of the Delhi-Siwalik pillar which stood at a place called Topara near Khizrabad about 180 miles from Delhi at the foot of the Himalayas where the river Yamuna issues forth from the lower range of the hills.[24] Vigraharāja IV must have reached the spot in connection with his conquests and got himself immortalized through his inscription on the pillar.

He won further laurels in different directions. He is stated to have reduced the Mīnas or Mers to submission, making them "Carry water in the streets of Ajmer".[25] The Bijaulia rock inscription credits him with having 'burnt Jalor, reduced Pali to a hamlet and Nadole to a marsh'.[26] Pali and Jalor were obviously within the kingdom of Nādole which was ruled by the princes of the Chāhamāna family which had branched off from the main dynasty in the middle of the 10th. century A.D. Vigraharāja had to deal with the Nadole chief, who may be identified with Ālhaṇadeva (c. 1146-62 A.D.), on the grounds of political expediency as well as personal hostility. He had in the south a formidable rival in the

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(*Continued*)

As Vigraharāja IV was married to the Tomara princess Desaladevī, his nephew Prithvīrāja III could be taken to be indirectly the grand-son of the last of the Tomara chiefs. This appears to have been the cause of the popular belief. But some bard of the later period, having forgotten the exact relation, connected Prithvīrāja III directly with the Tomara blood from the side of his mother.

[24] IA, Vol. XIX, p. 215.

[25] Tod's Rājasthan Vol. II, (crooke's ed.) p. 791.

[26] JASB, 1886, Vol. LV, part I, pp. 31 and 42, verse 21.

person of the Chaulukya monarch Kumārapāla and in between their empires were placed the Chāhamānas of Nadole who, by virtue of their position, might, and very often did, play one against the other causing considerable mischief. Formerly an independent kingdom, the Nādoliyās had by this time accepted the suzerainty of Kumārapāla of Gujrat,[27] a hereditary enemy of the kings of Ajmer. This was too much for the proud Vigraharāja IV against whose father Arṇorāja they had also drawn their swords as an ally of the Gurjara sovereign.[28] And to reduce them once again to their original status and compel them to look to Ajmer rather than to Aṇahilapāṭana for protection and safety that he carried over them a war of destruction. His arms thus checked, though indirectly, the further advance of the Chaulukya empire in the north-west and his powerful rival Kumārapāla, probably to avoid an open conflict, was obliged to observe a position of complete neutrality and could render no help to his Chāhamāna ally against the aggressive designs of the Chāhamāna sovereign.

Vigraharāja IV, thus victorious in the field of battle, was apparently the most powerful ruler in the whole of northern India. The Delhi-Siwalik pillar inscription, dated 1164 A.D., bears testimony to his war-like expeditions and, in course of travelling to holy places he is said to have conquered the whole region between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas, striking at the haughty kings and gracious to those whose necks were humbled. He is credited to have made Āryāvarta once more what its name signifies (the land of the Āryas) by causing the barbarians (Mlechchhas) to be exterminated.[29] This clearly shows that he concentrated his whole attention and energy in the north alone where his efforts were crowned with complete success. His arms, however, did not move to the south which direction was well-protected by his powerful neighbour Kumārapāla. This success in war was mostly due to his consummate generalship as well as to his strong army which, according to the Lalita Vigraharāja-Nāṭaka, consisted of a thousand elephants, a hundred-thousand horses and a million of men.[30] The Bijaulia rock inscription also speaks highly of his valour that 'his hand imparted its beauty to his terrible sword which was graceful in the act of killing ....He was really a protector of the needy and the distressed.[31]

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[27] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1115 and also footnote 1.

[28] SJGM, II, pp. 50-53.

The Chāhamāna kingdom thus expanded considerably during his reign and it included perhaps a substantial portion of the Punjab lying between the Sutlej and the Yamuna.[32] In the north-east a portion of the north gangetic plain also seems to have formed a part of his empire. As a matter of fact he was the real sovereign and emperor of northern Hindustan and his conquest as far as the Vindhyas[33] clearly indicates that his ambition brought him into conflict with the Gāhaḍawāla king Vijayachandra

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29. IA, Vol. XIX 1890, pp. 216 and 219.
30. Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 264.
31. JASB, 1886, Vol. LV, part I, pp. 31 and 42 verses 19-20.
32. DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1077.
33. IA, Vol. XIX, pp. 216 and 219.

also who appears to have suffered defeat at his hands.[34] He was thus the first Chāhamāna emperor who brought the family to the pinnacle of its glory.

He distinguished himself not in the domain of the sword alone where he was unrivalled, but also in that of art and letters where he was supreme. Himself a great poet, he also patronised learning and, with his death, says Jayānaka, the name "the friend of the poets" disappeared.[35] To him belongs the authorship of the celebrated drama, the Harakeli Nāṭaka. It remained forgotten for a long time and only some of its portions are preserved on two slabs found in the Adhāī din Kā Jhonprā at Ajmer[36] This drama is in imitation to the Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi and in language, thought and technique it is a composition of high order 'not unworthy of the great poet Bhavabhūti,' Speaking of its merits Dr. Kielhorn observes that "Actual and undoubted proof is here afforded to us of the fact that powerful Hindu rulers of the past were eager to compete with Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti for poetical fame."[37]

The learned poet Somadeva lived and adorned his court and composed the 'Lalita Vigraharāja Nāṭaka' in honour of the emperor himself.[38] But major portions of this drama as well, like that of his patron, which were engraved on pieces of stone and placed in the temple of learning at Ajmer, are lost on account of the bigotted

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34. Dr. Tripathi : History of Kannauj, pp. 319-20.
35. Kavibāndhava, PV, VIII, 53.
36. IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-15. Tawney : PC, p. 141.
37. IA, Vol. XX, p. 201.
38. IA, Vol. XX. pp. 201-212.

fanaticism of 'the half civilized Turks' who carried death and destruction at Ajmer after their conquest.

Besides learning he patronised art and sculpture also and is credited to have built at Ajmer as many temples as forts he had conquered.[39] But his highest achievement in this field was the Sarasvatī Mandira or the temple of the goddess of learning which "may justly vie with the noblest buildings which the world has ever produced."[40] In conception as well as execution this building was a befitting monument of the reign of the Chāhamāna soverign and, as a piece of art, it was indeed an exquisite ornament of his capital. "As a specimen of Hindu sculpture," observes Mr. H. B. Sharda, "this college-building marks the high water-mark of excellence attained in the art."[41] His own drama as well as that of his court poet Somadeva along with a Praśasti[42] and a Stuti[43] (and who knows there might have been even more) engraved on pieces of stone were placed to decorate the temple of learning. But the cruel hands of the foreigners destroyed them all and the irony of fate is that the temple itself presents an appearance of a mosque! "It shows the strange vicissitude of fortune," remarks Dr. Kielhorn, "that the stones on wihch a royal author, who could boast of having repeatedly extirminated the barbarians (Turushkas, Mlechchhas) and

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39. BG. Vol. II, p. 180.
40. ASI, Vol. II, p. 263.
41. Sharda : Ajmer, p. 68.
42. Noticed in Speeches and Writings by H. B. Sharda, p. 262-63. Now deposited in the Rajputana museum, Ajmer.
43. ibid, p. 262.

conquered all the land between the Vindhya and the Himālaya, made known to his people the products of his muse, should have been used as common building material by the descendants of these barbarians."[44]

The second memorial of his reign is the artificial lake Vīsalasara, known at present as Vislyā or Bisaliā.[45] This beautiful lake must have been one of the two most notable and picturesque features of Ajmer, the other being the Ānā Sāgar built by his father. The Prithvīrāja Rāso refers to the construction of this lake and mentions that the king, while returning from a hunt, saw this beautiful spot with springs of water and hills all around. Then he ordered his chief minister to build a lake there, who got it constrcuetd. It resembled the lake of Pushkara.[46]

II

AMARAGĀNGEYA (c. 1164-65 A.D.)

Amaragāngeya succeeded his illustrious father Vigraharāja IV on the throne of Ajmer, and appears to have been a minor and a bachelor at the time of his enthronement.[47] His reign was, however, cut short either

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44. IA, Vol. XX, p. 201.

45. It is almost two-and-a-half miles in circumference. The surrounding embankment was faced in stone, with steps leading to the bottom of the lake. Temples and houses stood all round, and there were two islands in the lake in which stood palaces for the king : (Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 260).

46. Prithvīrāja Rāso (Nagri Pracharini ed). Ādiparva, verse 364.

47. PV, VIII, 54.

by his sudden death or he was forcibly removed from the throne, for an unpublished inscription in the temple of the Rūṭhī Rānī at Dhod, dated 1168 A.D., indicates that Prithvīrāja II obtained a victory over the king of Śākambharī by the strength of his arms."[48] This king of Śākambharī was doubtless Amaragāngeya whose reign-period falls between that of Vigraharāja IV and Prithvīrāja II.[49] It was thus by force of arms that Prithvīrāja II took back the kingdom of his father, Jagaddeva, the parricide, who had lost it to Vigraharāja IV.

PRITHVĪRĀJĀ[50] II. (c. 1165-69 A.D.)

Although his accession to the throne was not peaceful, he seems to have consolidated his position soon after. During his reign the age-long conflict with the Muslims was again renewed. The Hānsi stone inscription[51] of his time, dated 1168 A.D., informs us that "thinking of Hammīra who has become the cause of anxiety to the world, the king put Kilhaṇa in charge of the fort of Āsika" which can be identified with modern Hansi.[52] This was an important outpost which was conquered by his uncle from the Muslims[53], and to check their further advance it was essential to keep it always well fortified. This led to the appointment of Kilhaṇa, the maternal uncle of the king himself, as the governor of this fort.[54] The Hammīra of this inscription may be identified with the Muslim king Khusru Malik Taj-ud-Daula Sultan Jahan (1164-86 A.D.) who was then ruling at Lahore. The inscription further tells us that Kilhaṇa burnt the city of Panchapura and captured its lord.[55] This city is to be identified with Panchapattana, the town of purity, on the Sutlej.[56] It appears that the chief of Panchapura about this time did not owe fealty to the Chāhamāna dynasty and it was, therefore, absolutely indispensable to put him down and take possession of that city.[57] We may further conclude from this that the Chāhamānas, who had become, by virtue of their position, the guardians of the gates of north-western India, were thoroughly conscious of their responsibility and that Prithvīrāja II maintained his position and suceeded not only in hurling back the advance of Muslim arms but also thrust them back to their rear position.

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[48] JRAS, 1913, p. 276, foot note 2 ; RMR, 1923, p. 2.

[49] PV, VIII, 54 Sharda; Speeches and Writings p. 208, also footnote 2.

[50] The name of his queen was Suhavādevī, ASI, WC, 1906, no. 2191 pp. 59-60 ; and zalso RMR, 19123, p. 2.

[51] IA, 1912, pp. 17-19.

[52] IA, 1912, p. 17.

[53] JASB, 1886, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 31 and 42, verse 22.

SOMEŚVARA[58] (c. 1169-78 *A. D.*).

Prithvīrāja II had a short reign. He appears to have died without an heir and the vacant throne passed into the hands of his uncle Someśvara. His mother Kānchanadevī was the daughter of the Chaulukya king Siddharāja Jayasimha (c. 1094-1143 A.D.) who, having come to know from astrologers that Someśvara's son would be an incarnation of Rāma, took him away after his birth to his own capital and he was thus, from his early childhood, brought up at the Chaulukya court.[59] His successor Kumārapāla (c. 1143-1173 A.D.) was equally affectionate to the Chāhamāna prince, so much so that his name 'Protector of Kumāra' became a significant one.[60] The Prithvīrāja Vijaya informs us that, after the death of Prithvīrāja II, Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth, left the line of Sudhavā, the Marwar queen of Arṇorāja, from which males were dropping off like pearls and wished to see Someśvara. The ministers, therefore, brought him (from the Chaulukya court) to the Sapādalaksha country where his queen Karpūradevī entered the city of Ajayarāja (Ajmer) with her two sons.[61]

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[54] IA, 1912, p. 17.

[55] IA, 1912, p. 18, verse 11.

[56] ibid, p. 18. [57] ibid, p. 18.

[58] He wore the viruda of Baṭapalankeśvara (JASB, Vol. LV, part I, p. 42, V. 27).
This sounds unusual in the line of the Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer, but he appears to have done so probably in imitation of the Southern kings where he spent a considerable portion of his life.

It was during his stay at Kumārapāla's court that Someśvara married Karpūradevī, the daughter of King Tejala of Tripurī.[62] But, as there was no king of this name ruling at Tripurī during this period, it may be taken to be a variant of the name of king Narsimhadeva (c. 1151-70 A.D.).[63] We further learn from the Prithvīrāja Vijaya that in course of Kumārapalās' campaign against Konkan Someśvara cut off the head of the prince of that country.[64] This Konkan chief has been rightly identified with the Śilāhāra prince Mallikārjuna[65] who appears to have been killed some time between 1160 and 1162 A.D.[66]

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[59] PV, VI, 35-49.

[60] PV, VIII, 14 ; JRAS, 1913, p. 275 ; DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 1080-81.

[61] PV, VIII, 57-60 ; Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 208.

[62] PV, VII, 16. King Tejala was also known as Achalarāja.

[63] Shri Dinesh Chandra Sarkar identifies this Tripuri-Purandara with king Gayākarṇa, the father of king Narsimhadeva. (IHQ, March, 1942, p. 81). According to Dr. H. C. Ray,

We learn from the Sukrita-Samkīrtana that the king of Sapādalaksha sent to the Gurjara king Ajayapāla (1173-76 A.D.) a silver pavilion 'as a feudatory's gift.[67] The Kādī grant of king Bhīmadeva II, dated 1206 A.D., seems only to confirm it by conferring on king Ajayapāla

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(*Continued*)

however, he may have been a petty chief in the Chaulukya court who claimed Haihaya lineage and relationship with the Tripuri branch. (DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1081, footnote 4). But had it been so, a contemporary poet like Jayānaka could not have called him Tripurī-Purandara-King of Tripuri.

[64] PV, VII, 15.

[65] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 922 ; NPP (new ed.) Vol. I, p. 409.

[66] BG, Vol. II, part I, p. 186 ; ibid, part II, p. 544.
The Kumārapāla Charita, while giving the credit of killing this prince to Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhaṭa, the son of the prime-minister Udayana, furnishes us with some details of the war. We are told there that during the course of the first campaign Āmbaḍa was defeated and driven to the other side of the river Kalavini . He was sent again at the head of another army with some more feudatory princes to this aid. This time he succeeded and returned with Mallikājuna's head to the court. (Kumarapala Charita, Introduction, pp. xii-xiii) This description, along with the testimony of the Prtithvīrāja Vijaya, seems to suggest that Someśvara took part in the second campaign against Mallikārjuna whom he killed in battle, although the credit for the same has been ascribed by the Jain author to the leader of the army.

[67] B. G. Vol. I, part I, p. 194.

the epithet 'Karadīkrita Sapādalaksha Kshamāpāla.'[68] But there appears to be a good deal of exaggeration in this claim of the Chaulukya king. By this time the Chāhamānas had grown into a mighty power and were almost a source of anxiety and fear to the Chaulukyas ever since the reign of Vigraharāja IV. It was, therefore, a difficult task for king Ajayapāla and, for the matter of that any other prince in northern India,to challenge the Chāhamāna supremacy much less to reduce them to a feudatory's rank. Moreover the Chaulukyas, after the death of king Kumārapāla, were considerably weakened due to their palace intrigues and civil wars and had lost much of their former power and prestige .Under these circumstances it appears quite improbable that the Chaulukyas could extend their overlordship over the Chāhamānas. As a proper explanation of these records we, therefore, venture to suggest that, as king Someśvara had passed the major portion of his life at the Chaulukya court, he might have acquired great intimacy with the princes and people of Aṇahilapāṭana. It was, therefore, not as a 'feudatory's gift' but only to show his gratitude to the Chaulukyas that the Chāhamāna king Someśvara might have sent a silver pavilion to king Ajayapāla probably on the occasion of his accession to the throne in 1173 A.D.

Someśvara appears to have enjoyed a peaceful reign which was incidentally a short one. Some of his copper coins of the Bull and Horseman type bear on the obverse the figure of a horseman with the legend Śrī Someśvaradeva and on the reverse the figure of a humped bull and

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68. IA, VI, pp. 194, footnote.

the legend Aśāvarī Śrī Sāmantadeva.[69] This legend is to be found only on the coins of king Someśvara and his son Prithvīrāja, which is evidently developed from that of Śrī Sāmantadeva on the Tomara coins.[70] This appears to be perfectly natural, for they were the immediate successors of the Tomaras of Delhi and consequently Someśvara might have struck this type of coins in imitation of those of the Tomara kings.

He was a great builder and we learn from the Prithvīrāja Vijaya that he founded a town where stood the palaces of King Vigraharāja IV, and named it after his father.[71] In the midst of the numerous temples, constructed by his illustrious brother, he built a temple of Vaidyanātha which towered above them all.[72] This temple was adorned by the effigy of his father on horseback, with his own effigy in the front, facing his father's.[73] He also placed the images of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva in one place in a temple.[74] He further built five temples in Ajmer which vied with Meru boasting of its five Kalpavrikshas,[75] and many more in different places which caused the population of Amarāvatī, the city of gods, to dwindle away.[76]

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69. CCIM, pp. 257 and 261.
70. EI, Vol. XII, p. 224, footnote 4 ; JASB, Vol. XLIII, part I, plate X.
71. PV, VIII, 63.
72. ibid, VIII, 64-65.
73. ibid, VIII, 66-67.
74. ibid, VIII, 68.
75. ibid, VIII, 69.
76. ibid, VIII, 70.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CLIMAX OF THE CHAHAMĀNA POWER

PRITHVĪRĀJA III. (c. 1178-92 A.D.)

Prithvīrāja III[1] was a minor at the time of his father's death and, therefore, before departing from this world, Someśvara appointed queen Karpūradevī, as regent. She, on behalf of her son, looked after the administration of the kingdom,[2] and was helped in her onerous task by her able and trusted minister Kadambavāsa.[3] During her short regime as regent she discharged her duties creditably and won the admiration of one and all by her wise administration of the empire.[4] When Prithvīrāja III attained majority, he took in his own hands the reins of government from the queen-mother.

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[1] According to the Prithvīrāja Vijaya Prithvīrāja III was born on the 12th. of Jyeshṭha. He is said to have been conceived at a very auspicious moment when Mars was in Capricorn, Saturn in Aquarius, Venus in Pisces, (H. B. Sharda wrongly puts Jupiter in Pisces), the Sun in Aries, the Moon in Taurus Mercury in Gemini (PV, VII 23-29). The position of Jupiter and the Dragon's-Head have been lost through damage to the Manuscript. The author has stated that the two of the planets occupied their own houses and five their houses of exaltation. (PV, VII, 27). Dr. Dasharath Sharma argues that 'we might conclude that Jupiter was in Cancer. These planetary positions indicate V. E. 1222 (1165 A. D.) as the year of conception giving V. E. 1223 (1166 A.D.) as the year of birth' (Ind. Cul., 1944, Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 57) .But there appears to be some mistake in this calculation, for it will put his age at the time of his coronation only thirteen or fourteen years which means he was still a minor at that time.

[2] PV, IX, 12.

[3] PV, IX, 36-44.

Early Career :—As a child, Prithvīrāja III was placed under the care of a nurse who sucked him and, in order to protect him from evil influences, a tiger's claw together with an ornament bearing the ten incarnations of God Vishṇu was put round his neck.[5] When he grew up, he was sent to school to acquire proficiency in letters lest he might become indulgent and an unworthy prince. In due course he obtained mastery over six languages,[6] which appear to be Samskrita, Prākrita, Apbhranśa, Paiśāchī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī, He became versed in other branches of learning such as Mīmāmsā, theology, Mathematics, History, Military and Medical Sciences and learnt the fine arts of music and painting[7] etc. His accomplishment in the domain of letters and arms is further testified by the Hammīra Mahākāvya as well.[8] He, however, acquired special proficiency in the art of archery in which he was unrivalled.[9]

The Prithvīrāja Rāso elaborately describes many incidents of his early life, most of which are apparently fanciful stories and, at their best, are the creation of a poet's brain. Thus, his victory over Nāhar Rāi of Manḍovara,[10] and the Mughal chief Mudgala Rai,[11] can be discarded as imaginary stories, for history records the existence of no such persons during the period. The epic further credits him to have defeated his maternal grand-father Anangapāla when the latter changed his mind and wanted to take back the kingdom of Delhi from Prithvīrāja III.[12]. This narrative equally lacks historical evidence, for we definitely know that the kingdom of Delhi was received, not as a gift by Prithvīrāja III, but had already been annexed into the Chāhamāna empire by his illustrious uncle Vigraharāja IV.[13]

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[4] ibid, IX, 3-33.

[5] ibid, VIII,33-43.

[6] ibid, I, 35. The account of the Prithvīrāja Rāso that he learnt fourteen languages, appears to only an exaggeration. (Prithvīraja Raso, I, 729).

[7] Prithvīrāja Rāso, I, 729-746.

[8] HM, II, 75-90.

[9] PV, IX, 45-64, SJGM, Vol. II, p. 86 ; Prithvīrāja Rāso, canto LXVII.

Conquests and Campaigns :—Most of the Kāvyas dealing with this period of our history contain much of conventional and eulogistic descriptions which are not to be relied upon as pieces of historical knowledge. Of all the works, the Prithvīrāja Rāso had lauded him to the skies. It is full of exaggerated accounts of his personal achievements which are evidently useless for the purposes of history. Other chronicles and Prabandhas, bearing upon his life and composed centuries after his death, do describe some historical events of his reign, but they too are not devoid of anachronistic anecdotes and hyperbolic statements. Our task, therefore, is to distinguish between fact and fiction which may enable us to construct an authentic history of his reign. The same, however, cannot be said of the inscriptions, which, though few in number, are like eye-witnesses of his greatness in the domain of peace and war.

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[10] Prithvīrāja Rāso, pp. 329-368.

[11] ibid, Samaya XV ; Rāso Sāra, pp. 57-48.

[12] ibid, Samaya XXIII ; Rāso Sāra, pp. 104-109.

[13] JASB, 1886, Vol. LV, part I, pp. 31 and 42, verse 22.

The Prithvīrāja Vijaya credits him with having defeated a number of his opponents in battle field.[14] The defeated princes are not mentioned by their names, though they appear to have been the neighbouring princes who were put down or suppressed if, and when, they tried to raise their heads. The summary description of these expeditions indicates that they must have been minor engagements in which he was assisted by his maternal grand-uncle Buvanaikamalla.[15] With the assistance of this prince Prithvīrāja extirpated the Nāgas[16] who appear to have been a remnant of the ancient Nāga tribe.[17] This incident looks like a Nāga uprising which was, however, promptly suppressed.

One of the early exploits of Prithvīrāja III was his successful march to Guḍapura[18] against his cousin Nāgārjuna, the son of Vigraharāja IV, to quell his rebellion.[19] Nāgārjuna's elder brother Amaragāngeya had died early in age and the kingdom of Ajmer was forcibly seized by Prithvīrāja II.[20] This prince must have been a minor at that time and hence he bowed down to the inevitable. But when he grew up he must have been on the look-out for a favourable chance to revive his claim on the throne of Ajmer. When, therefore, the young king ascended the throne, Nāgārjuna raised the standard of revolt against his authority and occupied the fort of Guḍapura.

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[14] PV, X, 6.

[15] Bhuvanaikamalla was a brave and fearless general, reckless in battle and always served the king with devotion like Garuḍa to Vishṇu. PV, IX, 68-74.

[16] PV, IX, 88. According to Jonarāja, however, the verse in question refers to elephants or serpents whom Bhuvanaikamalla suppressed like Garuḍa. But this is apparently a poetic description of the valour of the brave general whom the author compares with Garuḍa.

[17] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 210, foot note 3.

[18] Guḍapura may be identified with modern Gurgaon in the Punjab which once formed a part of the Tomara kingdom of Delhi.

Prithvīrāja III became furious on the receipt of this news and at once marched off at the head of a huge army consisting of infantry, cavalry, elephants, chariots, camels and bullocks, leaving behind his chief minister and other generals.[21] The invading army besieged the fort and the battle raised in all its fury. There was slaughter on all sides, and Nāgārjuna, relinquishing the 'Dharma (duty) of a warrior, fled away from the fort like a coward.'[22] Most of the army, bereft of its leader as it was, was killed in action, including Devabhaṭa and others who were probably the rebel's generals. Prithvīrāja won the day and seizing a large booty he returned in triumph to Ajmer taking with him the wife and the mother of his cousin. A number of the prisoners of war were put to death and their heads were placed on the battlements of Ajmer,[23] perhaps as a warning for others so that no such event could be repeated again in future.

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[19] PV, X, 7-9.

[20] IA, 1912, p. 17 ; RMR, 1923 p. 2.

[21] PV, X, 9-29.

[22] PV, X, 30-32.

[23] PV, X, 33-38.

WAR AGAINST THE BHAḌANAKAS

The mighty arms of the Chāhamāna king were next turned against the kingdom of the Bhaḍanakas. It appears that during the reign of Vigraharāja IV the Bhaḍanakas were a powerful people, and, although the Bhaḍāna-pati was deprived of his lustre by Vigraharāja IV,[24] he could not probably subjugate them completely, and, when Prithvīrāja III came to the throne, he had again to measure swords with them. We learn from the Kharataragachchha Paṭṭāvalī that Prithvīrāja III marched his troops from Naṛanayana[25] and achieved a decisive victory over the people of the Bhaḍanaka country.[26]

Regarding the location of this land, we learn from the Kāvya Mīmānsā of Rājaśekhara that the Apabhranśa language is spoken by the Ṭakkas and the inhabitants of

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[24] EI, 1941, verse, 19, p. 104; Ind. Culture, Vol. X No. 3. p. 123.

[25] This place is to be identified with modern Narāyanā near Ajmer.

[26] It is borne out by the following statment in the Kharataragachchha Paṭṭāvalī : " How could he describe the incomparable lustre of the valour of Prithvīrāja whose armies fill the quarters in every direction, on whose entry attends the goddess of victory, and struck by whose sharp missiles the elephants of the Bhaḍanakas form indeed the figure of Svastikā with rows of tears trickling down from their temples.

" O Prithvīrāja, the gladdener of numerous subjects, where is the ground for competition between hostile rulers and thee who art verily the sun acting like a lion, with thy hand having a sword, tore asunder even the irresistible elephant force of the lord of the Bhaḍanaka land . . . . ." (Prabandha 25(a) ; also Hindustani, January, 1940, pp. 77 and 97. Ind. Culture Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 59 foot note.

Maru and Bhaḍanaka.[27] This clearly points out that the land in question must have been somewhere near the land of the Ṭakkas who inhabited the Punjab, and the Maru land which is obviously the sandy part of Rajasthan. Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, however, on the evidence of a historical Jain Kāvya 'Sakala Tīrtha Stotra' of Siddhasena Sūri informs us that the land of the Bhaḍanakas was situated between Kanauj and Harshapura (a town in Śākambharī deśa). This work further mentions Siroha and Kammaga as the chief sacred places of the Jains in this region[28] The people of this land, we are told, still preserve to this day the tradition of having fought with Prithvīrāja III.[29]

Thus, according to Dr. Sharma, the Bhaḍanaka kingdom comprised the present districts of Gurgaon, a part of the former Alwar State and the Bhivani Tahsil of the Hisar District of the Punjab.[30] This identification is in agreement with the data supplied by the Kāvya Mīmānsā and we may, therefore, safely conclude that during this period the land of the Bhaḍankas lay adjacent to the west of the Tomara kingdom of Delhi. To this part they might have migrated from the Sutlej region after the Mahābhārata age, and, in all likelihood, it might have once comprised the northern part of Rajasthan as well, for all these tracts are quite close to one another.[31]

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27. GOS, No. I, p. 51.
28. Catalogue of MSS at Pātana (GOS) I, p. 156, Verses 22-27.
29. Ind. Culture Vol. X, No. 3. p. 124.
30. ibid, p. 123.
31. After this defeat some of the people of the Bhaḍanaka country might have migrated to the Agra region and the modern

This victory was perhaps achieved slightly before 1182 A. D. for, in that year, in the course of a learned discussion between Padmaprabha and Jinapati Sūri, the Bhaḍankas and their defeat at the hands of Prithvīraja III, are referred to more than once.[32]

WAR WITH THE CHANDELAS

Soon after the conquest of the Bhaḍanakas Prithvīrāja III mustered his arms again and invaded the territory of the Chandela monarch Paramardideva of Jejākabhukti. The Mahobā-Khaṇḍa of the Prithvīrāja Rāso as well as the Ālhā Khaṇḍa of Jaganika, the so-called court-poet of the Chandela king, are full of exaggerated details of the war and the hostile relations between the two monarchs. It is said that while Prithvīrāja was returning to Delhi from Sameta, some of his wounded soldiers, who covered his retreat, were assailed and put to death by the Chandela king. This infuriated the young and ambitious Chāhamāna emperor who, at the head of a huge army, marched at once to Mahobā to avenge the death of his soldiers.[33]

When this news was reported to the Chandela king, he met the invading army and one of his valiant Sāmantas, Malkhan by name, died a glorious death at

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village of Bhaḍān about 20 K. M. to the east of Shikohabad may preserve the memory of these people.

[32] Kharataragachchha Pattāvạlī, by Jinapala, (p. 22 b). IHQ, December, 1935, p. 780; Hindustani, January, 1940, pp. 97-99.

[33] Prithvīrāja Rāso, MahobāYuddha Samaya pp. 2507-2615, Rāso Sāra pp. 457-73.

Sirsāgaḍh,[34] in the cause of his lord. In order, therefore, to check the further advance of the victorious Chāhamāna, king Paramardideva requested him for a short truce and, in the mean time, sent a message to his heroes Ālhā and Ūdala who had gone to Kanauj. They hurried back to Mahobā with active support from the Gāhaḍavāla king who was only willing to feed fat his ancient grudge against the house of Ajmer. In the encounter that followed Prithvīraja added new laurels to his cap and, according to Chand, he captured Mahobā, devastated Kalinjar and left for Delhi after leaving Mahobā in the hands of Pajjūna Rāi, one of his vassals and a hero of the battle.[35]

This traditional account of the war, as recorded in these books, was treated till recently as a piece of fiction by historians. But all such doubts have disappeared since the discovery of the Madanpur stone inscriptions which clearly mention that the country of Jejāka-bhukti, belonging to Paramardideva, was plundered and devastated by Prithvīrāja in 1182 A. D.[36] This statement is further borne out by the testimony of the Śārṅgadhara Paddhati[37] and the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi[38] that Parmardin saved himself by putting a piece of straw in his mouth when he was attacked by Prithvīrāja. In view of the existing good relations between the Chandelas and the Gāhaḍavālas, as is revealed in the

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[34] Raso-Sara, p. 459. ASR, Vol. II, p. 455, IA, 1908, pp. 145-49.

[35] Raso Sara, p. 473.

[36] ASR, Vol. XX, No. 810 ; ibid, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-74.

[37] Śārṅgadhara Paddhati, V. 1254.

[38] Tawny. PC, p. 189.

Maū stone inscription of Madanavarman[39] and the traditional enmity between the houses of Ajmer and Kanauj, it is not far from truth to presume that the Chandela monarch was assisted in his attempt to stem the tide of the growing menace of the Chāhamāna emperor. This is all the more so because Jayachandra was himself aspiring for the Gāhaḍavāla supremacy in northern India.

This war destroyed, to a great extent, the prestige of the Chandelas and, although the inscriptional sources refer only to the devastations and ravages perpetrated by the army of Ajmer in the heart of the Chandela kingdom upto Madanpur, it appears quite probable that some portion of the Chandela territory as well passed into the hands of Prithvīrāja III. But this state of affairs did not continue for long and from the testimony of the Kalinjar Inscription,[40] dated V. E. 1258 (A. D. 1201), wherein the Chandela king is addressed as Daśārṇādhipati, Paramardideva seems to have recovered the lost territory sometime before 1201 A. D. or probably soon after the second battle of Tarain in 1192 A. D.

WAR WITH THE CHAULUKYAS

Prithvīrāja fought Bhimadeva II, the Chaulukya sovereign of Gujrat, and thus he reversed the policy of his father who had maintained cordial relations with the house of his maternal grand-father Siddharāja Jayasimha.

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[39] ASR, Vol. XII, pp. 357-74 ; EI, Vol. I, pp. 195-207.

[40] IA, Vol. XIX, p. 354, No. 6 ; ASR, Vol. XXI pp. 37-38 ; JASB, 1848, Vol. XVII, pp. 313-17.

The causes of this war are obscure. According to the Prithvīrāja Rāso, however, the hostility between the two houses ensued on account of Prithvīrāja's marriage with Ichchhinī, the Paramāra princess of Ābū, whose hand was also sought by the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva II.[41] Dr. G. H. Ojha considers the whole incident as imaginary, for during this period Ābū was ruled by Dhārāvarsha Paramāra and not by Salakha Paramāra who is said to have been the father of Ichchhinī.[42] But we may venture to suggest here that Salakha and his son Jaitasī Paramāra might have belonged to the senior branch of the Ābū Paramāras, represented by Vikramasimha who was deposed by Kumārapāla of Gujrat in about 1145 A. D. [43] This Salakha and his son Jaitasī (mha), therefore, as descendants of Vikramasimha, might have claimed for themselves the principality of Mt. Ābū as its rightful owners and consequently they might have been so regarded by the party opposed to the Chaulukyas.[44] An inscriptional evidence of 1183 A. D. also records that Mahāraja Jaya ruled Ābū under the suzerainty of Aṇahilavāḍa.[45] This prince Jaya may be identified with Jaitasī (mha) of the Prithvīrāja Rāso.

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[41] Prithvīrāja Rāso, Samaya XIV, Ichchhinī Vyāha Kathā, Rāsosāra, pp. 54-56.

[42] NPP. (New ed.) Vol. I, pp. 376-454

[43] The Dvāśraya, in verse 34 of canto XVI, mentions Vikramasimha as being the Paramāra Rājā of Mt. Abu. We learn from the Kumārapāla Charita that Kumārapāla, while returning to Gujrat from the war with Arṇorāja, deposed Vikramasimha, the Prarmāra ruer of Abu.,as he was disloyal to him and placed on the throne in his place his nephew Yaśodhavala.
Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 284.

[44] IHQ, Dec. 1940, pp. 744-45.

The Rāso describes yet another cause of this war. We are told that Kānhadeva, the uncle of Prithvīrāja, killed seven sons of Sārangadeva, the uncle of Bhīmadeva, during their sojourn in the Chāhamāna court. This infuriated the Gurjara king who, in order to avenge himself of the murder of his cousins, invaded the Chāhamāna kingdom. He killed in battle Someśvara, the father of Prithvīrāja and took possession of Nagor, But Prithvīrāja succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the forces of Gujrat, killed Bhīmadeva and recovered Nagor.[46] This narrative is apparently devoid of any historical basis in so far as the deaths of the two rulers are concerned. King Someśvara died a natural death,[47] while Bhīmadeva II survived as late as 1238 A. D.[48] and died sometime between 1241 A. D.[49] and 1243 A. D.[50]

The epigraphic as well as literary sources, however, clearly record the war that was fought between the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas. The Pārtha-Prākrama-Vyāyoga drama of Prahlādanadeva informs us that the Ābū Paramāra Dhārāvarsha, who was a feudatory ruler of the Gurjara king, repulsed a nocturnal attack by the lord of the Jāngaladeśa (Ajmer).[51] This is further corroborated by the Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvalī of Jinapati Sūri according to which this war ended before 1187 A. D. This work testifies that Jagadeva Pratīhāra, the Prime Minister of the Gurjara sovereign, was very eager and careful to preserve the treaty concluded by him with Prithvīrāja after undergoing considerable trouble and was not prepared again to incur the displeasure of the Chāhamāna emperor.[52] This incident is further referred to in the Veraval inscription which tells us that the Prime Minister Jagadeva was 'verily the moon to the lotus-like queens of Prithvīrāja'.[53]

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[45] Bhinmal Ins. No. VI, Bom. Gaz.

[46] Prithvīrāja Rāso Samaya XXXIX, Somabadha ; Rāso Sāra, pp. 138-41.

[47] PV, VIII, 72-102.

[48] Kādī Grant No. 6.

[49] PC, p. 154.

[50] JBRAS, Vol. IX, p. 155.

The two unpublished inscriptions, found at Charlu (Bikaner State), record that two Mohilla heroes Āhaḍa and Ambaraka were killed in action at Nagor in V. E. 1241 (1184 A. D.).[54] This battle looks like the battle of Nagor between the two rival houses. As the Mohillas were a branch of the Chāhamānas and Nagor formed a part of the Chāhamāna territory and as this war was fought in 1184 A. D. and no other engagement is mentioned in any record between A. D. 1184 and 1187, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that Prithvīrāja met the Chaulukya army at Nagor in the year 1184 A. D. where he scored a decisive victory against his enemy. And, as this war was fought in the Chāhamāna territory, it will not be wrong to suppose that the Chaulukyas were the aggressors and they had to pay heavily for their aggression.

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[51] Pārtha-Prākrama-Vyāyoga, p. 3 ; IHQ, September, 1940, p. 745.

[52] Kharataragachchha Paṭṭāvali (unpublished) by Jinapāla, p. 30(b); IHQ., September, 1940, p. 745 ; Hindustani, 1940. p. 98.

[53] Historical Inscriptions of Gujrat, Vol. II, p. 218, Line 38.

[54] IHQ, December, 1940, p. 745. Rajasthan Bharati, Vol. I, contains the text of the two inscriptions.

THE WAR WITH THE GĀHAḌAVĀLAS

The sovereign of Ajmer, though victorious in battle against most of the kings and princes of Hindustan, was all the more desirous to curb the power of Kanauj which was the main obstacle in his attainment of sovereignty over the country. But this was not an easy task, for Jayachandra, the Gāhaḍavāla ruler of Kanauj, was a powerful king and was equally ambitious to extend his hegemony over the land. This conflict of ambitions, therefore, was bound to bring about a conflict between the Chāhamānas and the Gāhaḍavālas.[55]

Thus the two sovereigns had conflicting imperial ambitions and the land of Delhi proved a bone of contention between them. The rising power of Ajmer came into conflict with the house of Kanauj over this issue as early as the time of Vigraharāja IV who appears to have defeated his contemporary king Vijayachandra of Kanauj.[56] Jayachandra must have, therefore, felt the urge to get back his ancestral land and to avenge himself of the defeat of his father at the hands of the Chāhamānas. This appears to have formed the pivot round which the old rivalry revolved. That there existed a great enmity between the two kings is further proved by the Jayachandra Prabandha in the Purātana Prabandha Sangraha where the Gahaḍavāla king is said to have indulged in merrymaking on the defeat of Prithvīrāja III at the hands of the Sultan of Ghor.[57]

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[55] Like Prithvīrāja III, Jayachandra maintained a huge army and, if the testimony of the Rambhāmañjarī and Prabandha Chintāmaṇī are to be relied upon, his stupendous force gave him the title of 'Dalapangu'. The Prithvīrāja Rāso also speaks of it and says that the van reached the ground ere the rear had moved off. This is further corroborated by the 'Sūrya Prakāśa' which speaks of his conquest of 100 Yojanas of land through his army which consisted of two lacs of horsemen an d a huge infantry. His greatness finds further support in the statement of Ibn Asir who calls him "the greatest king in India", who "possessed the largest territory", having "seven hundred elephants" and whose " men were said to amount a million." Elliot, vol. II, p. 251.

The clue to the immediate cause of war between the two sovereigns is apparently furnished by the Prithvīrāja Rāso which vividly describes the elopement of the princess Sanyogitā, the daughter of king Jayachandra, with the king of Ajmer. This account of the Rāso, though full of exaggerated and unhistorical details, cannot be wholly discredited. The gist of the whole story, as described in the epic, is the preparation of Jayachandra for Digvijaya,his performance of Rājasūya Yajña accompanied with the Svayamvara of his daughter Sanyogitā, and the eventual destruction of the yajña and the forcible abduction of his daughter at the hands of Prithvīrāja.[58] This narrative occupies almost more than one third of the whole volume. Some scholars, however, disbelieve the historicity of the incident and regard it as a completely fictitious event concocted by some curious bard of the sixteenth century.[59] They put forward the evidence of the Rambhāmañjarī and the inscriptions of Jayachandra which are completely silent about these events, especially the Rājasūya Yajña which is certainly a very important affair in the reign of any sovereign.

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[56] Dr. Tripathi : History of Kanauj, p. 320.

[57] SJGM, Vol. II, p. 89.

[58] Prithvīrāja Rāso. Sanyogitā Svayamvara Samaya

That these events are not recorded in the Rambhāmañjarī is true. But we must bear it in mind that the book describes the events of the early part of the reign of king Jayachandra, whereas the above mentioned events took place somewhere during the end of his rule and hence this omission. Secondly, if the inscriptions of the reign of the Gāhaḍavāla king omit to mention these events, it is only natural, for no king would like to perpetuate his disgraceful defeat by inscribing the destruction of his sacrifice and the abduction of his own daughter. And then again, these two sources are not self-sufficient with regard to all the details of the reign of the king of Kanauj.

Dr. R. S. Tripathi puts forward some indirect arguments in favour of his contention. He holds that, firstly, Rājasūya Yajñas and Svayamvaras were obsolete during this period and, secondly, the conquests of King Jayachandra were not so extensive as to call for such a sacrifice.[60] But the performance of these Yajñas, which were distinctly Vedic ceremonies, by the Śungas, the

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[59] Dr. R. S. Tripathi-History of Kanauj, pp. 325-26.; Dr. G. H. Ojha, NPP, (new ed.) Vol. I. pp. 376-454.

[60] Dr. R. S. Tripathi : History of Kanauj, p. 326.

Nāgas, the Āndhras, the Guptas and the Chālukyas clearly reveals that staunch Hindu kings never lost sight of such sacrifices and, in order to uphold the Dharma as well as to enhance their dignity and status among their contemporaries, they continued to perform such Yajñas even though they were not masters of the whole of the country.[61] We may, therefore, venture, to suggest that, as Kanauj had been the seat of imperial power in the country during the preceding centuries, the Gāhaḍavāla sovereign might have desired to raise it again to the same status. And, a powerful king as he was, he might have, therefore, as a means to this end, taken recourse to this ceremony to satisfy his vanity of attaining the position of a Chakravartin even though his conquests were not so extensive and he was unable to curb the pride and power of his Chāhamāna rival in the race for political supremacy in India.[62]

The Svayamvaras, on the other hand, had never been obsolete during the course of Hindu period of our history. Bilhaṇa in his Vikramānkadeva Charita gives an instance of the same in c. 1125 A. D. Moreover, according to the Dvāśraya Kāvya of Hemachandra Sūri, a Jain chronicler of Gujrat, Durlabhādevī, a Chāhamāna princess of Naḍḍūla, was won in Svayamvara by king Durlabharāja (c. 1008-1022 A. D.) of Gujrat.[63] The story of the Prithvīrāja Rāso may, however, appear to be romantic in character but all the same there is nothing strange about it. A similar instance of a Svayamvara is recorded in history where a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Indra, who was a feudatory of the Chalukyas, took away by force the princess Bhavanāgā from the marriage pandal at Kaira in C. 725 A. D,[64] These instances are enough to prove the continuity of the tradition of Svayamvaras and, if one is said to have been held in the last quarter of the 12th. century A. D., there is absolutely nothing to disbelieve in it, at least in theory.

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[61] We may, however, note here that during the period under review greater stress was laid on 'Dāna' (Charity) than on Yajñas and King Jayachandra of Kanauj was famous for his charitable deeds.

[62] The Hammīra Mahākāvya speaks of the Digvijaya of King Hammīra of Ranthambhor in the last quarter of the 13th. century A.D. and his performance of a Kotiyajña at the successful conclusion of the same. HM, IX, 1-48 and 76-99.

Fortunately, we find that these events have been mentioned even by later writers, both Hindus and Muslims. The poet Chandra Śekhara, who lived at the Chāhamāna court at Ranthambhor during the middle of the 16th. century A. D., describes the details of this Svayamvara in the Surjana Charita.[65] He, however, gives the name of the Kanauj princess as Kāntimatī. A great historian like Abul Fazl also refers to the Rājasūya Yajña performed by king Jayachandra in his celebrated work, the Āyeen Akbery, and describes how the Kanauj princess became enamoured of Prithvīrāja and refused her consent to marriage with any one else and ultimately eloped with the Chāhamāna sovereign to Delhi.[66]

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[63] IA, Vol. IV, pp. 112-14 ; also DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 945-46.

[64] EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

[65] N. P. P. (new ed.) Vol. III, 1946, pp. 211-14.

[66] Āyeen Akbery trans. by Francis Gladwin, Vol. II, pp. 107-08.

This marriage is further referred to in the History of the Rājāh of Jamūn.[67]

The Prithvīrāja Vijaya informs us that the emperor was extremely handsome and when he attained manhood several princesses began to cherish a desire to marry him.[68] This may provide an indirect hint to corroborate the above statement. But, above all, the whole incident has acquired such a wide popularity that even a huge gap of centuries has not succeeded in throwing it into oblivion and it has been coming down from generation to generation like a living tradition. This in itself is sufficient to prove the truth of the story so elaborately sung in the pages of the Prithvīrāja Rāso and its author, therefore, cannot be accused of forging one to posterity. There might be, however, poetic exaggerations in the narrative—and there are many—which may militate against the facts of history, but this is only natural, for its author was only a poet and not a historian. On the basis of this we shall not be justified in discarding the Nucleus of the story and we may, therefore, briefly summarise the incident as follows :

When Sanyogitā, the beautiful daughter of king Jayachandra of Kanauj, communicated her love to the valiant Prithvīrāja he fully reciprocated it, and, though deliberately uninvited to the Svayamvara at Kanauj by her father, he went there in disguise and succeeded in carrying off the Gāhaḍavāla princess by force. His chiefs (Sāmantas) who engaged the forces of Kanauj to protect their beloved sovereign, fell one by one in the field of battle. Thus, though most of his warriors were lost in action, Prithvīrāja returned safely to his capital where he married his lady-love.

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[67] TN. Vol. I, pp. 466-67 ; foot note I.

[68] PV, X, 1-5 ; also Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 211.

This action of Prithvīrāja looks strange and its historicity may be doubted on this ground as well that such a task was difficult to perform in the very capital of a powerful monarch like Jayachandra. But the king, having been engaged in the performance of religious rites, might have been taken unaware by the chiefs of the Chāhamāna sovereign, who may be taken to be the commanders of different units and not individual warriors. And, as there was in Kanauj an assemblage of a large number of princes and kings of the country, Prithvīrāja and his soldiers might have easily got mixed up with them. Thus, the advantage lay with Prithvīrāja who succeeded in an apparently hazardous task.

V. A. Smith holds that this event took place in 1175 A. D.[69] while C. V. Vaidya places it in 1185 A. D.[70] The former date is untenable, for in that year his father Someśvara, and not Prithvīrāja himself, was ruling as king. The sequence of events in the Prithvīrāja Rāso suggests that this event took place some where during the end of his imperial rule. It tells us that after his marriage with Sanyogitā Prithvīrāja fell a victim to the charms of the newly wedded queen. He was so overpowered by her beauty that he ceased to come out of his palace. This resulted in the negligence of his

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69. Smith, EHI (3rd. ed.) p. 387.

70. Vaidya, HMHI, Vol. III, p. 315.

duties as king which completely paralysed the machinery of the State. Confusion and chaos reigned supreme. This considerably weakened the position of the empire in critical times.[71]

The Viruddha-Vidhi-Vidhvanśa of Lakshmīdhara also informs us that, during his last engagement with the Turks, Prithvīrāja's intellect was shrouded by the vice of sleep.[72] The Prithvīrāja Prabandha in the Purātana Prabandha Sangraha corroborates this statement that slightly before the last invasion of Shahab-ud-Din Ghori Prithvīrāja was engrossed in indolent habits and became deadly furious if any one dared to awake him from his excessive sleep. [73]

These indirect references impart considerable weight to the statement of the Rāso and help us to the conclusion that, in all likelihood, this event took place sometime in 1191 A. D. soon after the first battle of Tarain in which the Chāhamāna sovereign, who was so far immune from this vice, fought bravely and drove away the Muslim invader from the borders of India. This conclusion finds further support from the history of Jamūn which refers to the hostility of Prithvīrāja with Jayachandra respecting the latter's daughter immediately after the battle of Tarain in 1191 A. D.[74] This fateful event must have deprived him of the valuable support from some of his former allies and chiefs who were killed in action, and also made him indolent and idle which were ultimately responsible for his defeat and death at the hands of the Turks.

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[71] Prithvīrāja Rāso Samaya XXXXXXII, Rāso-Sāra pp. 349 ff.

[72] IHQ, Sept. 1940, p. 571, verse 23.

[73] SJGM, Vol. II, pp. 87-88.

[74] TN, Vol. I, pp. 466-67, foot note I.

THE EXTENT OF HIS EMPIRE

The Chāhamāna empire gradually grew in size and strength and reached the pennacle of its glory during the reign of Prithvīrāja III. We have seen that during the reign of Vigraharāja IV, the founder of the greatness of the dynasty, the empire extended from the foot of the Himalayas to the Vindhya mountains.[75] He also reduced Jalor, Pali and Naḍḍūla to their original status as feudatories of Ajmer and compelled them to look to Ajmer rather than to Aṇhilwāra Pātan for safety and protection.[76] The frontier of the empire was further extended in the North-West and the city of Panchapattana or Panchapura on the river Satlej was captured and annexed during the reign of Prithviraja II.[77]

When Prithvīrāja III assumed sovereignty in his hands he destroyed the Bhaḍanakas, defeated the Chandelas of Jejābhukti, curbed the pride of Gujrat and shattered to pieces the dreams of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj. These successful campaigns must have brought him not only fame and glory but also an extension of territories far and wide. The extent of his empire can be thus ascertained by the location of the find-spots of his inscription as well as those of his predecessors. This reveals that in his empire were included the modern Ambala division of the Punjab, Patiala, Nabha, Faridkot and Simla States and North-Eastern portion of the Bhawalpur State, Jaipur, Alwar, Bikaner, Ajmer and Marwara, most of Jodhpur, portions of Mewar and Malwa, Bundi, Kotah, Tonk, Karauli, Jhalawar and Dholpur States in Rajasthan, Bharatpur and Gwalior States, portions of Jhansi and Agra divisions, the whole of Meerut division alongwith Tehri and Garhwal[78] in Uttar Pradesh. This leads us to conclude that the Chāhamāna Empire during the rule of Prithvīrāja III extended from the river Satlej to the river Betwa, and from the Himalayas to the foot of the mount Ābū. According to Col. Tod the Kālinadī formed the boundary between the Kingdoms of Delhi and Kanauj. 108 great vassals, many of whom were subordinate princes, owed allegiance to the Chāhamāna monarch.[79]

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[75] Supra. pp. 145-50.

[76] Supra, pp. 148-49; also Sharda : Speeches and Writings, pp. 248-49.

[77] Supra pp. 154-55; IA, 1912, p. 18.

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[78] There is still a District town named Pithorāgarh in U.P. which probably commemorates the name of Prithvīrāja III.

[79] Crooks' Tod, Vol. II, p. 938.

CHAPTER IX

THE DOWNFALL OF THE EMPIRE

THE TURK INVASIONS RENEWED

Since the fall of the Pratīhāra empire of Kanauj in the 1st. quarter of the 11th. century A. D. the burden of guarding the gates of north-western India fell on the shoulders of their political successors, the Chāhamānas of Delhi and Ajmer. We have seen that, inspite of the long and titanic struggle against the Turks, the Chāhamānas held their own and discharged their duties towards the country well. It was Vigraharāja IV who repeatedly extirminated the 'Mlechchhas' or barbarians and made Āryāvarta once more the abode of the Aryas.[1] He also enjoined upon his descendants to continue the work of conquest and his wishes were more than fulfilled by his worthy successors.

But things took a serious turn during the reign of Prithvīrāja III when Shahab-ud-Din Ghori[2] was set up as governor of Ghazni by his elder brother Ghayas-ud-din in 1173 A. D. He was an ambitious prince who launched a series of invasions to conquer the country. He took Uchha from the Bhatti Rajputs by treachery and seized Multan from the Karmatian heretics in 570 A. H. (1175 A. D.).[3] He sustained a serious defeat in Gujrat in 1178 A. D.[4] but he more than compensated the loss by his annexation of the whole of Sind and Peshavar and, finally, Lahore in 1186 A. D.[5]

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[1] IA, Vol. XIX, p. 216.

[2] He was also called Muiz-ud-din and Muhammad Ghori or Muhammad-bin-Sam.

[3] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 293.

Inspite of these conquests Shahab-ud-din was far from being the master of Hindustan. He knew it well that he could neither secure the immense wealth of the plains nor push forward the banner of Islam in India unless he held the keys of the gates of Delhi and Ajmer. Prithvīrāja III, on the other hand, anticipated his ambition and was determined to exterminate the Turks. We learn from the Hammīra Mahākāvya that the kings of the west, suffering greatly at the hands of Shahab-ud-din Ghori, chose śrī Chandrarāja, the son of Govindarāja, as their spokesman and in a body came to Prithvīrāja. They informed the Chāhamāna sovereign that Shahab-ud-din had pillaged and burnt most of their cities, defiled their women, and reduced them altogether to a miserable plight. The noblest of the Rajput families had disappeared before him, and he had established his capital at Multan. Prithvīrāja III was, thereupon, filled with indignation and declared to the assembled princes that he would force the Sultan to beg their pardon on his knees with his hands and feet heavily manacled and fettered, or else he would be no true Chohan.[5a]

The Prithvīrāja Vijaya says that when the 'beef-eating Mlechchha', named Ghori, who had captured Garjanī (Ghazni), heard that Prithvīrāja had vowed to exterminate the 'Mlechchas' he sent an ambassador to

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[4] PV, XI, 9-12, Raverty : TN, Vol. I, pp. 451-52, Elliot, Vol. II, p. 294.

[5] Elliot, Vo. II, p. 294.

[5a] HM, III, 1-15; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

Ajmer. "This man had a wide fore-head, but no hair on his head. The colour of his beard, eye-brows and the eye-lashes was of the grapes that come from Ghazni, and his speech was like that of wild birds, it had no cerebrals. His complexion was like that of a leper, and he wore a long choga. Rajas took shelter in fortresses from fear of him. When these fiends in the shape of men (Mlechchhas) took possession of Naḍul (Nadole),[6] the warriors of Prithvīrāja took up their bows and arrows and the emperor became angry and resolved to lay Ghori's glory to dust.[7]" The same work further informs us that the emperor received a letter from Gujrat bearing the happy news that the king of Gujrat had utterly routed the Ghori forces.[8] This doubtless refers to the defeat of Shahab-ud-din Ghori at the hands of the young king Mūlarāja II of Gujrat in 1178 A. D. Prithvīrāja III appears to have offered no material assistance either to the forces of Gujrat or to his own cousins of Naḍḍūla, to drive away the invader. The Prithvīrāja Vijaya, however, seems to suggest that Prithivīrāja III was keen to do so and, although no help was sought from him, his wise minister Kadambavāsa had some diplomatic hand in the defeat of the Sultan.[9] That Shahab-ud-din Ghori failed utterly in his first enterprize to subjugate the country was fortunate. But all the same it reveals the lack of a concerted effort and a common policy on the part of the Hindu kings of the time to stem the tide of Muslim invasion of India. They apparently failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation which had in store disastrous consequences for the whole country.

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[6] It refers to the first invasion of Gujrat by Shahab-ud-din Ghori when he passed through Nadole.

[7] PV, X, 39-51 ; Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 211.

[8] PV, XI, 6-12 ; Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 212.

[9] PV, XI, 13-23.

After the annexation of the Punjab in 1186 A. D. into the Ghorian kingdom, Shahab-ud-din and Prithvīrāja III stood face to face with a long common boundary of their empires and, unless the former defeated and destroyed the Chāhamānas of Ajmer, his dreams to subjugate the country could not be fulfilled. It was, therefore, to this task that the Muslim conqueror set his mind and all his efforts were directed for the next six years to the annihilation of the Chāhamāna forces.

Here we come across one of the knottiest problems of Indian history, for the Hindu and Muslim authors hold very divergent views with regard to the number of engagements fought between Shahab-ud-din Ghori and Prithvīrāja III. The former tell us that at least seven engagements were fought between the two monarchs before the Sultan could succeed in destroying his formidable foe. The Prithvīrāja Rāso is full of exaggerated accounts of the war and counts as many as twenty one battles fought between the two rivals.[10] But, as some later additions and interpolations appear to have been made in the details of the Hindi epic, it is apparently not very useful for authentic history.

We learn from the Hammīra Mahākāvya that Prithvīrāja marched against Multan and "in the battle that ensued, Prithvīrāja took Shahab-ud-din captive and was thus enabled to fulfil his vow, for he obliged the haughty Muhammad Ghori on his knees to ask forgiveness of the princes whom he had despoiled. He allowed Shahab-ud-din to go to Multan. Seven times after this did he advance on Prithvīrāja to avenge his defeat, each time with greater preparation than before, but each time he was signally defeated by the Hindu monarch."[11] Thus according to this work the Sultan succeeded in his ninth attempt against Prithvīrāja. The Prithvīrāja Prabandha enumerates eight engagements.[12] while the Prabandha Kośa tells us that Prithvīrāja took Shahab-ud-din prisoner twenty times in succession but was himself taken prisoner by the latter in his next attempt.[13] The Surjana-Charita also refers to this traditional number of twenty-one battles between the Hindu and the Muslim sovereigns.[14] The Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi counts as many as twenty-three engagements in all.[15]

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[10] Prithvīrāja Rāso (NP ed.)

The Muslim historians, on the other hand, describe only two battles. The contemporary works like the Jamiul-Hikāyat[16] and the Tāj-ul Ma-Āsir[17] mention the last battle alone, while the Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī refers to two engagements fought at Tarain.[18] But Firishta, a much later historian, clearly states that only two battles were fought between the Hindu and the Muslim kings.[19] One may, however, trace, among the early Muslim writers, a deep-rooted hatred for the Hindus, for whom they always used a contemptuous language. It is probably on account of this that they seem to have carefully tried to avoid any reference to the defeat and dishonour of the army of Islam, especially of Shahab-ud-din Ghori who succeeded in establishing a Muslim empire in India by defeating the mighty Hindu monarch of the day. And, as later historians have based their accounts on those of their early co-religionists, a more truthful account of the wars was impossible to be found in their works.

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[11] HM, III, 1-49 ; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

[12] SJGM, Vol. II, p. 87.

[13] ibid, Vol. VI, p. 117. Vastupāla Prabandhah :

[14] Surjana, Charita, X, 129-132 ; NPP, Vol. XLVI, part III, p. 214.

[15] Tawny : PC, pp. 189-91.

[16] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 200.

[17] ibid, pp. 212-16.

[18] Raverty, TN, Vol. I, pp. 457-69.

That Shahab-ud-din Ghori was defeated at least once by Prithvīrāja III is obvious from the accounts of Minhaj-us-Siraj,[20] but it would be no wonder if he was defeated even more than once. Both the kingdoms had a long common boundary at least for six years from 1186 to 1192 A. D., and, an ambitious king as he was, Shahab-ud-din could not have sat silent, wasting his time merely to watch the activities on the other side of his frontiers. He had made himself master of Sind and a major portion of the Punjab, but his dreams of founding a Muslim empire in the heart of Hindustan could be realised only if he succeeded in annihilating the power of the Chāhamānas who held the key to the rich and fertile plains of India. His activities and repeated incursions year after year clearly indicate his restlessness for the fulfilment of his cherished ambition, and he was obviously prepared to risk his all towards the materialization of the same. This vaulting ambition, therefore, must have spurred him to action, as it had done before, and it is quite likely that, if he himself did not lead the armies of invasion in the beginning, he might have sent some of his generals either from Lahore or from Multan into the Chāhamāna dominions and these border skirmishes might have been fought to the disadvantage of the Sultan.

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[19] Briggs : TF, Vol. I, pp. 172-77.

[20] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, pp. 457-63.

The 'Viruddha-Vidhi-Vidhvanśa' of Lakshmīdhara which clearly states that Skanda, the Senādhipati of the Chāhamāna forces, killed the Turushkas (Muslims) continually,[21] seems only to corroborate it. The Hindu and Jain authors may be accused of exaggeration in their accounts—and to a certain extent it may be true—but on this basis it would be unfair to discard their statements completely. Although the Indian authors do not agree on the number of defeats of the invading armies, they are unanimous at least on one important point that, prior to his final triumph, Shahab-ud-din was defeated several times by Prithvīrāja III, and, if actually the Sultan himself was not taken prisoner, it is highly probable that his generals might have been caught by the Chāhamāna hosts in the field of battle. But the Hindu sovereign, 'with a lofty and blind arrogance of the Rajput character' set them every time at liberty.

This was, however, the beginning of the whole affair. The Sultan-i-Ghazi must have also realised by now that such attempts were futile. He, therefore, made an all out preparation for the invasion of Ajmer, and we learn from Mihaj-us-Siraj that in 587 A. H. (1191 A. D.) he "caused the forces of Islam to be organized, and advanced against the fortress of Tabarhindah.[22] and took that stronghold and made it over to the charge of Malik Zia-ud-din, the Kazi Muhammad-i-Abd-us-Sallam Nisawi Tulaki.[23] They selected 1200 horses from the force of Hindustan and Ghaznin, all men of Tulak and the whole of them were ordered to join his Khayl (band) and were located within that fortress under the stipulation that they should hold it for a period of eight months, until the Sultan-i-Ghazi should return again from Ghaznin, but the Rāi Kolah Pithora,[24] however, had arrived near at hand and the Sultan marched to Tarain[25] to meet him. The whole of the Rānās[26] of Hind were along with the Rāe Kolah.

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[21] Verse 11 ; IHQ, September, 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 570.

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[22] Major Revarty informs us that although the printed text has Sirhind, all the other copies of the text and many others have the name of the place as Tabarhindah (or Tabarhindh). He further tells us that many authors of comparatively modern date including the Tabakat-i-Akbari, Mirat-i-Jahan Numa and Khulasat-ut Tawarikh also have Sirhind. He quotes then Tarikh-i-Alfi and Zadbat-ut Tawarikh which call the place Tarhindah. He again refers to Badāūnî who has the same in one copy and Tarhindah in another and in a different place he says that it was Jaipal's capital. The Lubb-ut Tawarikh-i-Hind calls it Tabarhindah now known by the name of Bithandah. In Briggs' translation of Firishta the place is called Pathindah or Bithunda while Major Raverty himself tries to read the place in another copy of the MS as Bathindah which Dow calls " The capital of Taberhind ". Raverty thus concludes that it was the fortress of Bathindah, which Briggs probably meant, some 100 miles west of Thanisar. (Raverty : TN, Vol. I, pp. 457-58, foot note 3.).

Dr. H. C. Ray has also identified the fortress with that located at Bhatinda in the Patiala State (DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1087 footnote 2). Dr. Dasharath Sharma, on the other hand, tries to indentify it with Sirhind in the same State (Ind. Culture, 1944, p. 75). But, according to the Thornton's Gazetteer of India, London, 1886 (p. 872), Sirhind is the name of the tract " consisting of the NE portion of the plain which intervenes between the Jumna and the Sutlej rivers. It includes the British districts of Umbala, Ludhiana, and Firozpur, together with the native States of Patiala, Zind and Nabha ; in the historical sense it embraces the level plain between the Himalayas and the desert of Bikaner, the Sutlej and the Jumna."

(DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1087, footnote 2).

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[23] This Kazi Zia-ud-din was the cousin (son of the uncle) of the author's maternal grand father.
(Elloit : Vol. II, p. 295.)

[24] Major Raverty thinks that the right word may be Golak. In Sanskrit Golak signifies the off-spring by illegitimate connection with a widow ; but he rightly asserts that we hear nothing of such connection on the part of Prithvīraja's father. He also refers to Col. Tod who, in his highly imaginative way, considers Gola to mean a slave, making the word a substitute for the Persian word Gholam. Tod, however, is of the opinion that Golah (Kolah) refers to the natural brother of Prithvīraja (AAR, Vol. I, p. 179). Hasan Nizami, who, on account of his close nearness in time to Prithvīrāja, is more authoritative among the Muslim historians, calls Kolah the son of the Rāi of Ajmer (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 214). Raverty, after comparing all the authors on this topic, rightly holds Kolah or Golah as the son of Prithvîrāja, who, aftre his father (Prithvīrāja) was put to death, was made a tributary ruler at Ajmer, by Muizz-ud-din. Minhaj has apparently confused the two names, for he does not say a single word about Pithora's son having been set up by the Musulmans, although they had to support him subsequently by force of arms. (TN, Vol. I, pp. 458-59, foot-note 6). The confusion about Kolah is clearly due to the defective Persian script as well as the inability of the Muslim writers to pronounce correctly the Indian names. Kolah is

"When the ranks were duly marshalled,[27] the Sultan seized a lance and attacked the elephant on which Gobind

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apparently corrupted from Golah which, in its own turn, is the corrupt form of Govinda (rāja). This Govindarāja can be identified with the prince of the same name who was the (minor) son of Prithvīrāja (HM, IV, 24 and 29; NPP (new ed.) Vol. XII, part III, p. 275 and the footnote). He was, after his father's death, put on the throne of Ajmer by the Sultan as a tributary ruler (Elliot, Vol. II. p. 216).

[25] Briggs, in his translation of Firishta, gives the place of the battle as "Narain now called Tirowry on the bank of the Soorsutty, 14 miles from Thenesur, and 80 miles from Dehly" (TF, Vol. I, pp. 171-73). Major Raverty, however, points out Briggs' mistake and informs us that the name on the lithographed edition of the text of Firishta, revised by Briggs himself, is clearly given as 'Tarain'. According to Gen. Cunningham the field of battle was on the banks of the Raksha river, four miles south-west of Tirauri and ten miles to the north of Karnal (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 295, footnote 3) Dr. H. C. Ray opines that it is not unlikely that Briggs meant by his 'Tirowry' the place mentioned by Mirza Mughal Beg on the royal road from Karnal to Thanesar as Azimabad-i-Talawari (DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1088, foot note 3.)

[26] Major Raverty tells us that some MSS have Rāes while others mention 'a number of Rajput princes' (T. N. Vol. I, p. 459, footnote 8). Firishta, however, states that the Rājā of Ajmer in alliance with other Indian princes, marched with 200,000 horses and 3,000 elephants (TF, Vol. I, pp. 171-72). It appears that Prithvīrāja's army consisted of his own forces together with those of his vassal chief and neighbouring princes.

[27] The Sultan divided his army into flanks-rear, right, left and centre, and Firishta informs us that "at the first onset his

Rāe,[28] the Rāe of Delhi, was mounted, and on which

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right and left wings, being out-flanked, fell back, till joining the rear his army formed a circle. Mahomed Ghoory was in person in the centre of his line and , being informed that both wings were defeated, was advised to provide for his own safety. Enraged at this counsel, he cut down the messenger, and, rushing on towards the enemy, with a few followers, committed a terrible slaughter ." (TF, Vol. I, pp. 172-73).

[28] Major Raverty tells us that the oldest copies of the Tabakat-i-Nasiri has the name Gobind (گوبند) and Gobindah (گوبنده) while others have Gaband (گبند) and Goyend (گوئند). He further informs us that some more modern copies of the text have Kand (کند) and Khānd (کهاند) and Khāndī (کهاندی) (TN, Vol. I, pp. 459-60, footnote 9). Firishta calls him Chawund Rai (Briggs : TF. Vol. I, pp. 171-73), which name is also acceptable to Col. Tod (AAR. Vol. I. p. 119). Raverty, however, quotes a Hindu source according to which it was Kidi Rāe (TN, Vol. I, p. 461, footnote) while the history of Jamūn, as quoted by him, calls him Khāndi Rāe (ibid, Vo. I, pp. 466-67 footnote 1.)

The Prithvīrāja Rāso mentions the names of all the three persons Naranāha Kanha, Rāi Govinda and Chāmuṇḍa. It appears quite likely that Naranāha Kānha (deva), who is said to be the uncle of Prithvīrāja (Rāso Sāra, p. 253), (according to the Lubb-ut-Tawārikh-i-Hind Khāndi Rāe was a blood relation of Prithvīrāja. TN, I. p. 469, foot-note 9), was the third and the unnamed son of the Marwar princess Sudhavā, the chief queen of Arṇorāja (PV, VI, 31), and, due to his personal valour as well as close blood-relation, he might have been appointed as the viceroy of Delhi. If our suggesstion be correct, he (Kānhadeva) may be identified with the Rāe of Delhi who is variously called by Muslim historians as Gobind, Gaband, Goyend, Kand, Khānd, Khāndi or Chāwunḍ Rāi, and by Hindu authors as Kidī Rae, Khāndī Rāe or Naranāha Kanha. Major Raverty, on the basis of Muslim historians and elephant he moved about in front of the battle.[29] The Sultān-i-Ghazi, who was the Haider of the time, and a second Rustam, charged and struck Gobind Rāe on the mouth with his lance with such effect that two of that accursed one's teeth fell into his mouth. He launched a javelin at the Sultan of Islam and struck him in the upper part of the arm and inflicted a very severe wound. The Sultan turned his charge's head round and receded, and from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horse back any longer. Defeat befell the army of Islam so that it was irretrievably routed, and the Sultan was nearly falling from his horse, seeing which a lion-hearted warrior, a Khalji stripling, recognised the Sultan and sprang up behind him, and, supporting him in his arms, urged the horse with his voice, and brought him out of the battle.[30] On the Musulman forces, not

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three Hindu chroniclers, calls him the brother of Rāe Pithora (TN, Vol. I, p. 460, foot-note 9) ; but this relationship is clearly untenable, for Prithvīrāja had only one brother (PV, VIII, 46-52) named Harirāja who survived the emperor (Elliot : Vol. II, pp. 218-19) and ultimately put an end to his life in fire. (HM, III, 74).

[29] He perhaps led the van of the Chāhamāna army.

[30] Another history, written by a Hindu and quoted by Raverty, says that after the Sultan had wounded the Rāe in the mouth, he wounded the Sultan in the head with his spear and the Sultan received another wound in the side (by whom inflicted is not said) and he fell from his horse, when a Khalji youth took him on his own horse, and , placing him before him carried him safely out of the fight. (TN, Vol. I, p. 461, footnote).

seeing the Sultan, lamentation broke from them,[31] until they reached a place of safety where the defeated army was safe from pursuit by the infidels.[32]"

The defeat of the Sultan was thus complete and, perhaps in the history of the Muslim invasion of India, the forces of Islam never had such a bitter and humiliating experience in their encounter with the Hindus. Minhaj further informs us that all the dispersed elements of the vanquished army united once again when they heard of the providential escape of the Sultan, and returned thereafter in good order to their own dominions without being seriously troubled by the victorious Chowhans.[33] This was, indeed, a great strategic blunder on the part of the Chāhamāna sovereign who, out of sheer chivalry, did not take full advantage of the plight of his adversary.

In this connection, Major Raverty, quoting from the history of the Rājāh of Jamūn, says that, while the Sultan, after his defeat, retired toward Ghazni, a deputation from the Rājāh of Jamūn approached him near the banks of the Ravi.[34] If it was actually so, it must have given considerable solace to the Sultan of Islam in his hour of defeat and distress. Major Raverty further says that Rāe Pithorā, having been apprised of the part played by Rājā Bij or Bijayī Diw (of Jamūn) in aiding the Musulmans, decided to march against him and chastise him.[35]

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[31] Hindu authors and traditions record that Prithvīrāja captured Shahab-ud-din many a time and each time set him free on payment of ransoms. It is quite likely, therefore, that when the Sultan was severely wounded, he might have been taken prisoner by the Chāhamānas, and this caused his disappearance from his army. But he appears to have been freed soon after by the misplaced magnanimity of Prithvīrāja who allowed him to go back to his country safely.

[32] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, pp. 457-63. According to Firishta the defeated Muslim army was pursued by the enemy nearly 40 miles (Briggs : TF, Vol. I, p. 173).

[33] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, p. 464.

Minhaj-us-Siraj informs us that, soon after his victory, Prithvīrāja invested the fort of Tabarhindah and after a siege of thirteen months compelled Tulak to capitulate and hand it over to him.[36] It is quite likely that, after the capitulation of the fort, the Qazi Tulak was taken prisoner and brought to Ajmer where, on payment of ransom, he was set free by the Chāhamāna king.[37]

Prithvīrāja obtained the victory but he was apparently not benefitted by it, and lack of foresight and statesmanship turned this opportunity into a disadvantage for him. He appears to have courted new hostilities with Rājā Vijayadeva of Jamūn,[38] and, instead of conserving his energy to fight a formidable foreign foe, from whose side he expected no mercy, he wasted it in fighting the

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[34] ibid, Vol. I, p. 460, foot-note 3.

[35] ibid, Vol. I, pp. 460 foot-note 3 & pp. 466-67, foot-note 1

[36] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, pp. 464; Briggs : TF, Vol. I, p. 173.

[37] This appears to be one of the many instances which are at the back of the tradition that the Sultan was taken prisoner several times and was each time set at liberty by the magnanimous Chāhamāna king

[38] Raverty, TN, Vol. I, pp. 466-67, foot-note 1.

Gāhadavāla king Jayachandra of Kanauj.[39] Further, when this war was over, a sense of security appears to have prevailed upon him which ultimately landed him into great difficulties. He seems to have surrendered himself completely to wordly pleasures and enjoyments and passed his time in merry-makings in the company of the newly wedded queen Sanyogitā, the beautiful princess of Kanauj.[40] This made him idle and indolent and the neglect of his duties brought about confusion and chaos in the kingdom.[41] He left unguarded the north-western frontier of his empire which ultimately offered a smooth and easy passage to his mighty foe who was only beaten but not destroyed.

Shahab-ud-din Ghori, on the other hand, was greatly ashamed of the catastrophe which had befallen the arms of Islam and, when he reached Ghor, he publicly disgraced those officers who had slipped away from the field of battle.[42] Muslim historians inform us that the Sultan, after living a few months with his brother at Firuzkuh, made 'sleep and rest unlawful to him' in order to avenge himself of his defeat on the king of Hindustan. He consequently engaged himself in feverish activities in preparing a second offensive against Prithvīrāja III.[43] He was seemingly informed of the state of affairs obtaining in the country and was probably in communication with king Jayachandra of Kanauj and some other princes of India.[44]

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[39] Supra, pp. 173-81.

[40] Francis Gladwin : AA, Vol. 11, pp. 106-08. Supra, pp 179-80

[41] SJGM, Vol. II, pp. 86-88 ; Prithvīrāja Rāso.
IHQ, September, 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 570-71.

[42] Dow : History of Hindustan, Vol. I, pp. 130-31.

[43] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, p. 464, foot-note 7.

He, therefore, reorganized his forces which mainly comprised of Turk, Tajik and Afghan horsemen, numbering 120,000, who were arranged in defensive armours.[45] With such a vast force he pitched his camp 'in the following year' (i. e. A. H. 588. or 1192 A. D.) in the field of Tarain[46] by passing through Multan and Lahore.[47] We are further informed that, as the Sultan advanced, his army swelled in number by the active co-operation of some Hindu princes.[48]

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[44] ibid, Vol. I, pp. 466-67, foot-note 1 ; Prithvīrāja Rāso, pp. 2,216-2,226.

Abul Fazl also informs us that Shahab-ud-din formed an alliance with Rājā Jayachandra of Kanauj (Ayeen Akbery, 1800 A. D. ed., Vol. II, p, 108), while Col. Tod tells us that " the princes of Kanauj and Putun invited Shahab-ud-din to aid their design of humiliating the Chohan, Rāe Pithorā. The envoy was Chand Poondir, the vassal chief of Lahore, and the guardian of that frontier speedily joined his camp with his available forces." (AAR, Vol. I, p. 256). This Chand Poondir, however, may be identified with prince Vijayachandra of Jamūn who had already met the Sultan after his first defeat, at Lahore, and had promised him his support against Prithvīrāja.

The Hammīra Mahākāvya also states that Shahab-ud-din solicited the aid of the king of the Ghaṭaika country by communicating to him his successive defeats against Prithvīrāja (HM, III, 49; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 60).

[45] Elliot : Vol. II, p. 296. According to the Prithvīrāja Rāso the Ghorian forces numbered one lakh horses, nine lakhs footmen and ten thousand elephants (Rāso Sāra, p. 415).

[46] The Prithvīrāja Rāso gives the name of the battle-field as Pānīpata (ibid, p. 407). This error is possibly due to the fact that the whole of the tract is loosely known as Panipat.

[47] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, p. 464.

Hasan Nizami, an almost contemporary writer, tells us that, on reaching Lahore, Muizz-ud-din sent Kiwamul Mulk Ruh-ud-din Hamza as an ambassador to the court of Prithvīrāja "calling upon the latter to place in his ear the ring of slavery to the sublime court, and embrace the Muslim faith by repeating the precepts of the law."[49] This made the Chāhamāna emperor indignant who chose the chivalrous course of giving a befitting reply to his enemy in the field of battle. He-however, sent a formal note saying, "It is advisable thou shouldst retire to thine own country and we will not follow thee."[50] Prithvīrāja, elated with his former victories over the enemy, gathered the small force that was about him, and with this handful of men he advanced to meet the invader.[51]

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48. The Prithvīrāja Rāso informs us that prince Hammīra of Kāngarā joined the forces of the Sultan when the latter promised him half of the Punjab in the event of his victory, (Rāso Sāra, p. 409-11) The history of Jamūn records that Bijayi Diw, the Rājā of Jamūn, despatched his son, Narsingh Diw, with a body of his forces to him (Shahab-ud-din) (Raverty : T. N. Vol. I, pp. 466-67 footnote 1). The Hammīra Mahākāvya also states that the cavalry of the king of the Ghataika country joined the forces of the Sultan in the battle. IA, Vol. VIII, p. 60).
49. Elliot : Vol. II, pp. 212-13.
50. Quoted from Tāj-ul Ma Āsir by Raverty, TN, Vol. I, p. 466 footnote 1.
51. HM, III, 50-73 ; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 60. We learn from this work that while Prithvīrāja marched to the battlefield, he commanded Udayarāja, (probably Mahākumāra Udayavarman (1200 A. D.), son of Mahākumāra Hariśchandra of Mālavā and an

The Sultan was a past master in the art of treachery and diplomacy[52] and, consequently, he decided to deceive

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ally of the Chāhamānas) to follow him ; but the latter reached the battlefield just too late when the fate was decided against Prithvīrāja (ibid, p. 61). The Viruddha Vidhi Vidhvanśa of Lakshmīdhara also corroborates this statement. We learn from this work that Prithvīrāja III was probably taken aback, for just at this time his Senādhipati Skanda had gone to another battle and could not be present on the occasion. (IHQ, September, 1940, Vol. XVI, p. 571, verse 23). This clearly indicates that the Chāhamāna army was fighting simultaneously on different fronts. Was this front against king Jayachandra of Kanauj who tried to utilize this opportunity to feed fat his ancient grudge against Prithvīraja ?

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The Prithvīrāja Rāso and the Āyeen Akbery (Francis Gladwin's trans. Vol. II, p. 108) further informs us that Prithvīrāja III was apparently ill-equipped to meet the invader, for he had lost most of his generals in his war against the Gāhaḍavālas, and, according to the version of the former, the Chāhamāna army numbered only eighty three thousands for the final battle (Rāso Sāra, p. 415).

Firishta, on the other hand, gives a different version and counts the Chāhamāna army as 300,000 horse and 3,000 elephants and the number of the princes assembled in the camp as one hundred and fifty (Briggs : TF, Vol. I, p. 173-78). Hasan Nizami also tells us that Prithvīrāja invited help from the Rājās of Hind and with 300,000 horses he advanced to meet the Sultan (Raverty, TN, Vol. I, p. 466, footnote 1). But, in the light of the circumstances in which Prithvīrāja faced the invader, the accounts of the Muslim historians appear to be clearly exaggerated. This is perhaps due to their attempt to glorify this victory of the arms of Islam against the most powerful Hindu king of the day.

[52] It was through treachery combined with diplomacy that the Sultan had previously conquered the Bhatti Rajputs of Uchha.

the Hindu monarch. In order, therefore, to throw Prithvīrāja off his guard, he sent back a reply to him saying, "It is by command of my brother, my sovereign, that I come here and endure trouble and pain; give me sufficient time that I may dispatch an intelligent person to my brother, to represent to him an account of thy power and that I may obtain his permission to conclude a peace with thee under the terms that Tarhind (Tabarhindah), the Punjab and Multan shall be ours and the rest of the country, thine.[53]" The Muslim historian goes on further to say that the "leaders of the infidel forces, from this reply, accounted the army of Islam as of little consequence, and without any care and concern, fell into the slumber of remissness. That same might the Sultan made his preparation for battle, and after the dawn of the morning, when the Rajputs had left their camp for the purpose of obeying calls of nature, and for the purpose of performing ablution, he entered plain with his ranks marshalled.[54]"

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[53] Quoted from Tāj-ul-Ma Āsir by Raverty,TN, Vol. I, p. 466, foot-note 1.

Firishta also repeats the same story that the Sultan wrote back to Prithvīrāja that, " I have marched into India at the command of my brother whose general I am.Both honour and duty bind me to exert myself to the utmost . . . . .But I shall be glad to obtain a truce till he is informed of the situation and I have received the answer." Briggs : TF, Vol. I, p. 176.

[54] Quoted from Tāj.ul Ma-Āsir by Major Raverty in TN, Vol. I, p. 466, footnote 1.

Muhammad Ufi, another contemporary writer, also gives a somewhat similar account. He says that, "When the opposing forces approached each other and the camp fires were visible

From these accounts of Hasan Nizami, Muhammad Ufi as well as Firishta, it is quite clear that Muizz-ud-din played a successful trick upon his Hindu opponent who, in a truly Rajput fashion, accepted it as a genuine truce. And, as was their custom, the Rajputs forgot all about the impending battle for the time being and passed the night in slumber and merry-making. The Muslim horde, on the other hand, took advantage of this word of honour, which they had no scruple to break, and surprised the Rajputs with their all out attack during the time of the truce.

Some more details regarding the plan of the actual fight are recorded by Minhaj-us-Siraj who tells us that the Sultan left "the centre division of the army, the baggage, the standards and banners, his canopy of state and elephants several miles in the rear." The light armed and uncumbered horsemen, he had directed, should be divided into four divisions, and had appointed them to act against the infidels on four sides, and the

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on either side, the Sultan gave directions that every man should collect plenty of wood before his tent. At night he directed a party of soldiers to remain in the camp and to keep fires burning all the night so that the enemy suppose it to be their camping ground. The Sultan then marched off in another direction with the main body of his army. The infidels saw the fires and felt assured of their adversaries being there encamped. The Sultan marched off all the night and got in the rear of Kola. At dawn he made his onslaught upon the camp followers and killed many men. When the rear pressed back on the main army, Kola sought to retreat, but he could not get his forces, nor the elephants under control." (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 200).

Sultan had commanded that "It is necessary that, on the right and left and front and rear, 10,000 mounted archers should keep the infidel host in play; and when their elephants, horsemen and foot advance to attack, you are to face about and keep the distance of a horse-course in front of them."[55] It is clear that these tactics were adopted by the Sultan to harass the Rajput forces and to break their order and his design was crowned with success.[56] Minhaj informs us that "the Musulman troops acted according to these instructions and, having exhausted and wearied the unbelievers, the Almighty God gave victory to Islam, and the infidel host was over-thrown. Rāe Pithorā, who was riding an elephant, dismounted and got upon a horse and fled from the field, until in the neighbourhood of (the) Sarsuti[57] he was taken prisoner and they despatched him to hell; and Gobind Rāe of Delhi was slain in the engagement. The Sultan recognised his head through those two teeth which he had broken.[58]"

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[55] That the Sultan adopted this plan for his army is further supported by another authority which is quoted by Raverty. It tells us that the Sultan divided his army into five divisions, four of which with 10,000 light and horse-mounted archers were to attack the enemy from all sides, often pretending flight. This went on from 9 A. M. to the afternoon when, finding the enemy tired and worn out, he charged them with the fifth division of 12,000 horse, the flower of his army and carried everything before him. (TN, Vol. I, p. 468, footnote 2;); also Briggs : TF, Vol. I, pp. 176-77.

[56] The Hammīra Mahākāvya alludes to different tactics followed by the Sultan. We are told that Shahab-ud-din, with promises of large sums of money, seduced the king's master of the horse and the royal musicians from their allegiance, and when the engagements commenced, the disloyal master of the horse saddled and brought forth as the king's charger that day a horse styled 'Nāṭyārambha'. The horse began to dance and keep time with the Musicians. (IA, Vol. VIII, p. 61).

The Prithvīrāja Prabandha also informs us that Pratâpa simha, who was one of the ministers of Prithvīrāja, turned against his master on some personal ground and suggested ways and means to the Sultan for the defeat of his sovereign. (SJGM, Vol. II, p. 87). (Continued)

The Hindu and Muslim sources are unanimous that in the second battle of Tarain the rout of the Hindu

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(Continued)

The Prithvīrāja Rāso further refers to the treacherous part played by some of the generals of the Chāhamāna king (Rāso-Sāra, p. 407-11).

The Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi records the treacherous part of his minister Someśvara who led the Musim army into the neighbour-hood of Prithvīrāja's camp (Tawny, P. C. p. 190).

[57] It appears to be the river of the same name and, according to Thornton's Gazetteer of India, it rises in the Sirmur State in Latitude 30° 23', Longitude 77° 19', and flows through Ambala and Karnal. (Lodnon ed. 1886, p. 820). There was, however, on its banks a city also bearing the same name. (TA, p. 39, footnote 2).

[58] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, pp. 465-69.

The history of Jamūn, as quoted by Raverty, informs us that the Sultan met Rāe Pithorā on the same field of Talāwari, and formed his forces into two divisions. The troops of Jamūn and Kinauj were to oppose Khāndi Rāe of Dihli, while the Sultan, with his own forces, encountered Rāe Pithorā. The battle was obstinately maintained, and it is related that Khāndi Rāe fell by the sword of Narsingh Diw of Jamūn, and the Sultan himself slew several of the enemy. Rāe Pithorā was, however, captured alive. (ibid, pp. 566-67, foot-note 1).

forces was complete and the Sultan gained a decisive victory. But divergent views are held with regard to what happened to the Chāhamāna king Prithvīrāja III. The two contemporary Muslim historians Muhammad Ufi[59] and Hasan Nizami inform us that Prithvīrāja was taken prisoner. The latter, however, gives some more details that the Rāi of Ajmer, who had managed to obtain his release, or at least, immunity from punishment, and "whose ancient hatred against the Musulmans was deeply rooted and concealed in the bottom of his heart," appears to have been detected in some intrigue, which is only very obscurely indicated, so that orders were issued for his death, and "the diamond-like sword severed the head of that abandoned wretch from his body.[60]"

Minhaj-us-Siraj, who came a generation or two later, tells us that Prithvīrāja took to flight from the field but was captured near the Sarsuti and sent to hell.[61] The same view is shared by Firishta also.[62] Abul Fazl states that the Sultan took Ptithvīrāja to Ghazni where he met his death.[63]

Among the Hindu authors Chanda narrates the story with great elaboration in the Prithvīrāja Rāso. We are told there that Prithvīrāja was taken to Ghazni by the Sultan. The poet reached him in the disguise of a mendicant and through his help Prithvīrāja, blinded though he was, shot the Sultan dead with his arrow and then both of them put an end to their lives.[64] The same story is recorded in the history of Jamūn as well.[65] The Prabandha Chintāmaṇi[66], on the other hand, informs us that the Sultan took the Chāhamāna king to Ajmer as prisoner with the intention of re-instating the latter on the throne as his feudatory. But when he saw in the picture-gallery of Prithvīrāja that dogs were represented to be eating the flesh of the beef-eating Mlechchhas, he got him killed[67].

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[59] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 200

[60] ibid, p. 215.

[61] ibid, p. 297 ; TN, Vol. I, pp. 465-69.

[62] Briggs : TF, Vol. I, p. 177.

[63] Francis Gladwin, AA, Vol. II, pp. 106 and 108.

The Prithvīrāja Prabandha[68] narrates the end of the royal prisoner as follows : Prithvīrāja was captured in the field of battle and was kept as prisoner in a house at Ajmer. The victorious Sultan used to hold his court in the front of that house which greatly distressed the Chāhamāna king. One day his traitor minister Pratāpasimha told him, 'My lord, what can be done ? It was so ordained.' Prithvīrāja then asked him that if he could get his bow and arrows he might put an end to the life of his enemy. The treacherous minister conveyed the information to the Sultan whose metal statue was placed there and the king was provided with his bow and arrows. He shot in the right direction and the statue fell into pieces. Prithvīrāja threw off his bow saying that his aim could not be accomplished.

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[64] Prithvīrāja Rāso, Bāna-Bedha Prastāva p. 2387-2468; Rāso-Sāra. pp. 435-48.

[65] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, p. 486, foot-note 3.

[66] This book was written in 1304 A. D.

[67] Tawny, P. C. p. 191.

[68] It was written in the 1st. quarter of the 14th century A. D.

The cautious Sultan got him thrown into a pit where the royal prisoner was stoned to death.[69]

According to the Hammīra-Mahākāvya[70], a Muhammedan took the Chāhamāna king unawares from behind, threw his bow round his neck and drew him prostrate on the ground while other Muhammedans bound him captive. From this time the king refused all food and rest. The Sultan, however, inspite of the noble overtures made by his Amirs to release the royal captive who, out of sheer magnanimity, had set him free so many times from his own prison, got him killed in the end.[71] The Viruddha-Vidhi-Vidhvanśa, on the other hand, seems to suggest that Prithvīrāja III was killed in the battlefield.[72]

These authors, thus, give their own versions of the incident which are at once divergent and different from one another. But a close analysis of their statements may help us to arrive at a fairly satisfactory conclusion bordering on truth. Among all of them Muhammad Ufi and Hasan Nizami, who were contemporary writers, have a better claim to be relied upon and they hold that Prithvīrāja was taken prisoner and brought to Ajmer. The latter, however, is more informative and catagorical in his statement and says that the life of the king was spared in the beginning, but as he bore an ancient and deep-rooted hatred against the Musalmans and was detected in some intrigue, the Sultan put him to death in the end. His hatred against the Turks is also borne out by the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, while his intrigue against the Sultan is revealed by the Prithvīrāja-Prabandha, and as both of these works were written slightly after more than a century, we cannot ignore their evidence altogether. This is all the more so because these statements are not very different from those of the two earliest Muslim historians. Minhaj, who wrote his celebrated work about half a century later, also admits that Prithvīrāja was taken prisoner, though it is not quite clear from what he says whether the royal prisoner was despatched to hell at once or sometime afterwards.

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[69] SJGM, Vol. II, p. 87.

[70] It was written in the 1st. quarter of the 15th. century A. D. (NPP. new ed., Vol. XII, Part III, pp. 264-65).

[71] HM, III, 67-72 ; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 61.

[72] गतेऽन्य संगरे स्कन्दे निद्राव्यसन सन्नधीः
व्यापादितस्तुरुष्कैः स राजा जीवन मृतो युधि, verse 23.
IHQ, September, 1940, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 571.

The author of the Prithvīrāja Rāso, however, appears to assign a glorious end to his hero and, as it contains much later additions and interpolations, it can be said to be more fictitious than historical. The Hammīra-Mahākāvya also speaks of the captivity of Prithvīrāja though it transfers the scene to Delhi. Other works, which are definitely of later origin, can claim no priority over the earlier works and their testimony, as a piece of history, is not beyond question.

We may, therefore, conclude that Prithvīrāja III did not lose his life in action, but was brought back to Ajmer as a prisoner by Shahab-ud-din Ghori probably with the intention of re-instating him on the throne of Ajmer with himself as his suzerain. This can be further corroborated by the issue of the coins by the Sultan from Ajmer which bore the names of both Prithvīrāja and Muhammad-bin-Sam.[73] That such was his intention is clear from the fact that, soon after his victory, the Sultan did not annex the whole of the kingdom of Ajmer into his own, but made over a major portion of it to the (minor) son of Rāi Pithorā under his own suzerainty.[74] The Chāhamāna monarch, on the other hand, who was an inveterate enemy of the Musalmans, was obviously not prepared to accept the overlordship of the Sultan. He preferred death to Serfdom; but, as long as he was alive, he might have endeavoured to overthrow the rule of the Sultan who, therefore, took the safest course to put an end to his life in prison.

THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE

The Fall of Ajmer : The defeat of Prithvīrāja III in 1192 A. D. almost decided the fate of this ancient country and there seemed to be no serious obstacle in the way of the Sultan's aggressive designs. The victory gave him the key to the gates of Hindustan and a speedy fulfilment of his high ambition was quite in sight. The Sultan, therefore, lost no time and, from the field of battle, he marched straight to Ajmer, the seat of the Chāhamāna power. According to the testimony of Minhaj-us-Siraj he subjugated Ajmer, the seat of government, with the whole of the (territory) such as Hansi, Sursuti,[75] and other tracts, and he placed Malik Kutb-ud-din Ibak, in the fort of Kuhram, and returned home.'[76]

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[73] Thomas : Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, pp. 17-18.

[74] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 216.

[75] According to Ibn-i-Batutah, who visited the country in the 14th. century A.D., Sarasvati, besides being the name of a river, was also a great city ; and in Akbar's time it was one of the Mahalas of Sirkar Sambhal. (Continued)

Hasan Nizami, who was a closer contemporary, informs us that after this great victory, the army of Islam marched forward to Ajmer. There the victorious Sultan 'destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islam, and the customs of the law were divulged and established.' And when Prithvīrāja III was beheaded, his son 'in whose qualities and habits the proof of courage and the indexes of wisdom were apparent, and who, both abroad and at home, exhibited familiarity with rectitude and prognostication of goodness, was appointed to the government of Ajmer.'[77]

None of the Muslim historians, however, gives the name of this prince who, contrary to the traditions of his family, preferred slavery to freedom and accepted, rather meekly, the suzerainty of the Sultan. We learn from the Hammīra Mahākāvya that prince Govindarāja, the son of Prithvīrāja III, was banished from the kingdom of his father by his uncle Harirāja.[78] So this puppet ruler of Ajmer was prince Govindarāja who appears to have been a minor at the time of his enthronement, for his illustrious father Prithvīrāja III was himself a

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(Continued) Major Raverty - TN, Vol. I, p. 468; footnote 3 : DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1090, footnote 1.

[76] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, p. 469 ; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 297.

[77] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 215-16.

[78] HM, IV 24 and 29 ; NPP, Vol. XII, part III (new ed.) p. 275 and also foot-note.

youngman of slightly more than thirty years of age when he met his death.[79]

The Fall of Delhi : When the Sultan settled the affairs of Ajmer, he marched towards Delhi. It appears that after the second battle of Tarain, in which Kānhadeva, the viceroy of Delhi, had died,[80] this principality was taken possession of by his unnamed son. It was 'among the chief cities of Hind', and its ruler defended it gallantly from the onslaughts of the Turks. The invading army laid siege to the fort and 'a torrent of blood flowed in the field of battle.' We gather from Hasan Nizami that, being convinced of the ultimate fate of the fort, 'the Rāi and Mukaddams of that country placed their head upon the line of slavery, and their feet within the circle of obedience, and made firm the conditions of tribute (malguzari) and the usages of service.'[81] This statement is borne out by the Lubb-ut Tawārikh-i-Hind as well.[82]

It is evident from these accounts that the chief of Delhi finally submitted to the Sultan who, after exacting from him a large sum of money as tribute, left him in the occupation of the territory, possibly on the same conditions as were offered to the son of Prithvīrāja III at

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79. Supra p. 160, foot note 1.
80. ibid, pp. 193-94 footnote 28 and p. 204, footnote 58.
81. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 216.
82. It records that "Muizz-ud-din advanced against Delhi after taking Ajmer, and, on the kinsman of Rāe Pithorā and Kāndī Rāe, who then held possession of it, tendering tribute and submission, he was allowed to retain it."

Raverty , TN, Vol. I. 469, footnote 9.

Ajmer. But in order to make his position secure in that region he left behind an army of occupation which was "encamped within the boundary of Delhi at the mauza of Indarpat (Indraprastha)". In the end he made over to Kutb-ud-din the government of the fort of Kuhram and of Samānā and himself returned back to Ghazni in triumph.[83]

All this happened with a lightning speed and a state of confusion and chaos prevailed in the country. Every thing changed overnight and the Chāhamānas lost not only their sovereignty and empire but also their great sovereign in whose absence, perhaps, they could not think of, for a short while at least, any particular plan to meet the gravity of the situation. Like helpless spectators they witnessed the whole-sale destruction of their hearth and home. Their secred temples were razed to the ground and the statues of their gods, trampled down. In short, they had to put up with all the indignities that defeat brings in its train. Darkness and despair reigned supreme and not a single ray of hope was visible anywhere. Thus the Chāhamānas, though a mighty power, were forced to bow down to the ultimate fate which overtakes every people in their long career of political activities.

But this state of affairs could not last long and, when the Chāhamānas recovered from this deadly shock, a succession of sporadic activities followed. This betrays an utter lack of a concerted effort to make the land free from the iron clutches of the invader. But they could

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83. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 216.

not help it. They were without a king who was their supreme leader in war and peace. It was he alone who could have led them to victory and restored the glory that had departed from them. The task was, therefore, heavy and apparently they were not equal to it.

The Hānsi Rebellion : The first of the series of the uprisings started with the rebellion of Jatwan[84] at Hānsi. We learn from Hasan Nizami that a huge force, "animated by one spirit" gathered round him. In the "honoured month of Ramzan, 588 A. H. (1192 A. D.) he raised his hand in fight against Nusrat-ud-din, the (Muslim) commander of the fort of Hānsi. When this news was conveyed to Kutb-ud-din, he at once hurried to the scene of action. Although in the beginning the Hindu leader is said to have decamped with his army, he, later on, decided to give him a battle, and the hostile armies, attacked each other "like two hills of steel, and the field of battle became tulip-dyed with the blood of their warriors." But the fate was no more favourable to the Hindus who were signally defeated and they paid the price of their rebellion with the death of their leader in the battle.[85]

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[84] Elliot takes him to be a leader of the Jat tribe which still maintains its position in the neighbourhood of this scence of action (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 217, footnote 1).
This guess, which is apparently based on the similarity of sound in name as well as of locality, is far from convincing. But though his identity is obscure, he appears to have been a feudatory chief and a commander of an army under Prithvīrāja III.

[85] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 217-19.

The Fall of Mirat[86] : This victory gave a further stimulous to the invaders who were obviously determined to add more laurels to their cap. Kutb-ud-din set out from Kuhram to the interior to capture the city of Mirat, which was "one of the celebrated forts of the country of Hind for the strength of its foundation and superstructure." We are told that Kutb-ud-din was also joined by an army sent to him by the dependent chiefs of the country to assist him. The Muslim general succeeded in capturing the fort and appointed a Kotwal to take up his station in it. He is also said to have converted all the idol temples in the city into mosques.[87]

The Capture of Delhi : With the city of Mirat annexed to the Muslim empire, Kutb-ud-din desired to bring Delhi under his direct control for political expediency and convenience. This city had a strategic importance for the expansion of the Muslim empire in India and hence it could not be left in hostile hands. With this aim in view, he marched and encamped under the fort of Delhi which he captured. The conqueror entered the city in triumph and removed its chief who was previously installed by the Sultan as a tributary ruler. "The city with its vicinity was freed from idols and idol worship, and in the sanctuaries of the images of the gods, mosques were raised by the worshippers of one God."[88] The extension of the Muslim dominion in the interior of Hindustan made it necessary for him to shift his seat of government from Kuhram and thus he established his head-quarters in the city of Delhi,[89] which ultimately proved to be a key to the conquest of the country. The occupation of this city appears to have taken place either during the end of 1192 A. D. or early in 1193 A. D.[90]

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[86] Mirat is the modern city of Meerut.

[87] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 219.

[88] ibid, p. 219.

The First Rebellion of Ajmer :—When the Muslim general had settled the affairs at Delhi according to his plan, he received an intelligence from Sadar Kiwām-ul-Mulk Ruh-ud-din Hamzā, who perhaps held the fort of Ranthumbhor, that Hiraj[91] (Harīrāja), the brother of the Rai of Ajmer, had gone into rebellion, and " had turned his face towards the siege of the fort of Ranthumhor," and that the son of Pithora, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court, "was in a state of extreme danger." Kutb-ud-din appointed the Amir Sabik-ul-Mulk Nasr-ud-din to take charge of the affairs of the state (at Delhi) during his absence . . . . . . and himself departed for Ranthumbhor " passing over hill and desert like a wild ass or an antelope ".[92]

The accounts of the Muslim historian reveal that Harirāja, knowing it full well that he could not successfully contend with the army of Islam, left the field with his army on the arrival of the Turk general who had apparently an easy pull. " At this time the son of Rāi Pithora (Govindarāja) was favoured with a robe of honour and other kindnesses, and in return for this friendship, he sent abundant treasure for the service of the State, together with three golden melons, which, with extreme ingenuity, had been cast in moulds like the full moon."[93]

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[89] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, p. 469, foot-note 9.

[90] Raverty : TN, Vol. I, p. 469, foot-note 9.

[91] Hasan Nizami gives the name of the younger brother of Prithvīrāja III as Hiraj and Elliot wrongly takes it to be an abbreviation of the Samskrita Dhiraja, a potentate, which is still used on the seals of Hindu Rajas '. Firishta, however, calls him Hemrāja. (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 219 and also foot-note 1). But all of them are apparently mistaken, for the correct name of this prince was Harirāja (HM, IV, 2).

[92] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 220.

The Rebellion of Delhi :—The Turk general was engaged in activities leading to the subjugation of the country where confusion and unrest prevailed on account of the political upheavals. The Hindus hated the Turks for their anti-social and anti-Hindu performances and their utter disregard for their gods and temples. The former prince of Delhi, who was ousted by Kutb-ud-din, felt the pulse of the nation, and took advantage of the absence of the latter from his head-quarters. He, therefore, sent an appeal to the people to come to his aid in driving away the enemies of their religion and culture from the country. This met with an instantaneous result and a large number of " idolatrous, turbulent and rebellious tribes" assembled under his banner. The Muslim general, who was by then relieved of his burdens at Ajmer and Ranthumbhor, rushed towards Delhi and in an encounter that followed, the Hindu prince was taken prisoner. " His head was severed from his body and sent to Delhi which had been his residence and capital."[94]

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93. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 220.

94. ibid, Vol. II, p. 220 ; Raverty ; TN, Vol. I, pp. 516-18, footnote 2.

The people of Delhi witnessed once again the triumphal entry of its Muslim conqueror.

Kutb-ud-din sent "written accounts of his capture of forts and strongholds and his victories and holy wars" to Ghazni where he was invited to receive thanks in person from Muizz-ud-din Sam Ghori. He stayed there for some time and, after receiving the patent conferring upon him the government (of Hindustan) he returned to Delhi.[95] Thus the slave general became the 'de facto' as well as the 'de jure' ruler of India under the possession of the Turks.

The Fall of Kol[96] :—In the year 590 A. H. (1194 A.D.) Kutb-ud-din subdued Kol, "one of the celebrated fortresses of Hind." Those of the garrison "who were wise and acute were converted to Islam," but those who stood by their ancient faith, were slain with the sword. " The nobles and chiefs of the State entered the fort, and carried off much treasure and countless plunder, including one thousand horses."[97]

The Second Rebellion of Ajmer :—We learn from Muslim historians that Prithvīrāja's younger brother, Harirāja, who was ever so keen to restore the fallen glory of his house, issued once again from the hills of Alwar, and with the help of those who had survived the great catastrophe he raised the standard of revolt against the Turks in 1193 A.D. He attacked Ajmer, defeated and drove out from the capital his nephew Govindarāja who was a mere show-boy of the Muslim conqueror. The unfortunate prince was once again forced to flee to Ranthumbhor for the safety of his life.[98]

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[95] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 220-21.

[96] The city of Kol is to be identified with modern Aligarh.

[97] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 222.

That Harirāja took possession of Ajmer and ruled there as king is also borne out by the indigenous literary sources. We learn from the 'Viruddha-Vidhi-Vidhvanśa' of Lakshmīdhara that Harirāja ascended the throne of Śākambharī with the help of Skanda, one of the great generals of Prithvīrāja III.[99] His accession to the throne is further supported by the Hammīra Mahākāvya of Nayachandra Sūri.[100] An epigraphical evidence also confirms it. According to the Tantoti image inscription, his queen pratāpadevī held the village of Tantoti in the district of Ajmer in her fief in 1194 A.D.[101] It is, therefore, clear from these evidences that, after removing his nephew Govindarāja from his ancestral throne, Harirāja occupied the country round Ajmer and ruled there for sometime. But the chances of the ill-fated prince, who appears to have been given to the pleasures of life,[102] were far from being bright in the face of the grim struggle and he could not long enjoy the fruits of his victory.

When Ajmer was occupied, he turned his attention to the liberation of the city of Delhi and sent a force in that direction. Hasan Nizami informs us that "Jihtar,[103] supported by an army, hastened to the borders of Delhi, and the people were suddenly caught in the darkness of his oppression and turbulence and the blood and property of the Musulmans fell into danger and destruction. When mention of these circumstances was made to the blessed ear of the Khusru, in a moment of courage and royal determination, he employed himself in the punishment and extinction of the rebel." Like a wise and experienced general "he ordered that a portion of his victorious army should be set apart and equipped for his personal service, and the rest of his army should be despatched to the frontiers for the subjection of the accursed, and the destruction of the enemies of the State and religion."[101]

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[98] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 225; Raverty : TN, Vol. I, pp. 516-18, footnote 2.

[99] IHQ, September, 1940, p. 571, verse 24.

[100] HM, 3, 73-82 and 4, 1-19.

[101] Noticed by Dr. G. H. Ojha in RMR, 19111-12, pp. 2 and 5 and now deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

[102] HM, IV, 2-3.

Jihtar (Jaitra Rai ?) knew it well that he did not possess sufficient strength to risk an open engagement with his formidable adversary, and, therefore, when he heard his approach, he wisely decided to avoid a battle and retired towards Ajmer. Prince Harirāja came to the rescue of his general and met the Muslim host in an open battle. The Muslim soldiers proved their superiority once again and a decisive defeat was the lot of the Chāhamāna prince. He was forced to fall back and shut himself up within the walls of the fortress of Ajmer. But even this could not avail the Chāhamānas against their enemies and, finding further resistance fruitless, Harirāja, along with the ladies of the Harem, ascended the funeral pyre in despair and thus he put an end to himself and his family.[105]

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[103] This name is written " Jihtar " in one MS of the Taju-l-Ma-Asir and " Jhitar " in another (Elliot, Vol. I, p. 225, foot-note 1). Major Raverty gives his name as Jhat Rae (TN, Vd. I, pp. 516-18 foot-note 2.). Firishta, on the other hand, calls him 'Chutr Ray', and Dr. H. C. Ray thinks that he was one of the heroes of Prithvīrāja III, (DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1092, foot-note 2). But according to the Prithvīrāja Raso, the son of Govindrāja was called Sāmantasimha (Raso Sara, p. 239), while this general appears to be identical with the Ābū Paramāra Jaitra Rai of the Rāso, who was one of the great heroes of Prithvīrāja III.

[104] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 225.

The repeated rebellions of Prince Harirāja and the Rai of Delhi, who belonged to the blood-royal, unmistakably prove the ceaseless efforts of the Chāhamānas to restore the fallen glory of their ancient house. Dr. H. C. Ray rightly observes that "the yoke of bondage did not fit in well with the pride and traditions of the Chāhamānas."[106] And, although like a brave people, they resisted it to the last, they finally perished in their noble endeavour to defend their country, and its culture and civilization.

The fort of Ajmer, "which was one of the most celebrated in Hind," was taken over by the Muslim general. The contemporary Muslim historian records that "infidelity was cut off, and the foundations of idol-worship were utterly destroyed." Leaving behind a Muslim governor in charge of affairs at Ajmer, Kutb-ud-din returned to Delhi.[107] On Prince Govindarāja, the puppet ruler and the ally of the Musalmans, was probably conferred the fief of Ranthumbhor, by his overlord, for, according to the testimony of the Hammīra-Mahākāvya, this prince, after his banishment from Ajmer by his uncle Harirāja, is said to have established himself as a ruler at Ranthumbhor.[108] This was possible under the hegemony of the Turks alone.

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[105] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 225-26 ; Raverty, TN, Vol. I, pp. 516-18 foot-note 2. HM, IV, 16-19.

[106] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1092.

[107] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 226 ; Raverty, TN, Vol. I, pp. 516-18 foot-note 2.

The Annexation of Biana :—The Sultan had, with the assistance of his able general Kutb-ud-din, succeeded in subjugating the major portion of the Chāhamāna empire ; but some of the outlying provinces, which had probably broken away from Ajmer after the battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D., refused to accept the suzerainty of the Turks. They took advantage of the unsettled condition obtaining in the country and perhaps declared their independence in their respective spheres. The task of the new rulers was, therefore, to bring them back to their original status, and, with this aim in view, an expedition was sent towards Thangar[109] in the year 592 A. H. (1196 A. D.). Kunwar Pal,[110] the Rai of Thangar, who prided himself on the number of his army and the strength of his castle, was forced to beg for safety for his life and his kingdom was taken possession of by the Turks. "The country was purified from the defilement of infidelity, and no opportunity remained for opposition and rebellion."[111]

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[108] HM, 4, 20-31.

[109] According to Firishta this ' Thangar came to be subsequently called Biana., (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 226, foot-note 1).

[110] He was either a governor or a feudatory chief during the reign of Prithvīrāja III.

[111] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 226-27.

The Fall of Gwalior :—In the same year (1196 A. D.) 'the royal army next marched towards Galewar (Gwalior), and invested the fort. Its ruler Rai Solankh Pal,[112] who had raised the standard of infidelity and perdition and prided himself on his countless army and elephants', was apparently prepared to give a tough fight to the invaders. But, we are told, "when he saw the power and majesty of the army of Islam", he became alarmed and dispirited. "Wherever he looked, he saw the road of flight blocked up." He, therefore, "sued for pardon and placed the ring of servitude in his ear," and agreed to pay tribute, and sent ten elephants as a peace offering. He was offered in return royal protection, and was allowed to retain his fort.[113]

When this expedition was over, the Sultan returned to Ghazni and Kutb-ud-din to Delhi, where festivities were celebrated on his arrival.

The third Rebellion of Ajmer :—Ajmer, the very seat of the Chāhamāna power, could not adjust itself to the new conditions under which it was placed by the occupation of the Turks. It had no doubt lost the bravest of its kings and had risen twice in rebellion under Prince Harirāja ; but with the death of the latter the country became practically leaderless. The people, therefore, who had a bitter and sad experience of the new regime, took the initiative in their own hands to regain their freedom. We learn from Hasan Nizami that "in the year 591 A.H. (1195 A. D.), when Kutb-ud-din was at Ajmer, intelligence was brought to him that a party of seditious Mhers . . . had sent spies and messengers towards Nahrwala, representing that a detachement of the army of the Turks had arrived at Ajmer, of no great strength and numbers, and that if from that quarter a force could be immediately sent to join them, before the enemy could find the opportunity of putting themselves in a state of preparation, they could make a sudden night attack upon them, and might rid the country of them."[114]

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[112] Although the identity of this prince is almost obscure, he appears to have been one of the feudatory chiefs who adorned the court of Prithvīrāja III. And as the Kachchhapaghāṭas inhabited the region during this period, Solankh Pal might be taken to be a scion of this clan. In all likelihood he established himself as an independent ruler after the fall of Prithvīrāja III.

[113] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 227-28.

A seasoned general as he was, Kutb-ud-din was determined to anticipate it. He at once fell upon the advanced guard of the rebels who gave him a very stubborn fight, and the outcome of the battle hung in balance throughout the day and night. Next morning, when the army of Nahrwala came to their assistance, the Turks were forced to retreat with their wounded commander Kutb-ud-din. The Hindus pursued them to Ajmer and 'encamped within one parasang of that place.' The slave general found himself in a sorry plight and he sent a confidential messenger to Ghazni for immediate help. The timely arrival of reinforcement from Ghazni saved the situation and in 1197 A. D. Kutb-ud-din inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Hindus.[115]

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114. Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 228-29.

15. ibid, pp. 229-31.

This was practically the last of the series of attempts by the princes and people of Ajmer to drive away the Turks, and, although this time they were helped by the Chaulukyas of Gujrat and had some initial success, they could not fare better in the final battle. The tactical blunder[116] in their strategem sealed their fate once for all, and they could not rise their heads again against the Turks who had become supreme in the country.

The Causes of the Defeat of the Chāhamānas :—The Chāhamānas were defeated by the Turks in the fateful battle of Tarain in 1192 A. D. not because the latter were more war-like and stronger than the former or had a superior force and better equipments and weapons. We have seen that the Chāhamānas had established their superiority in valour by defeating theTurks in successive engagements and in 1191 A. D. Prithvīrāja inflicted a crushing defeat on Shahab-ud-din Ghori whose army faced not only a complete rout but a great disaster. But inspite of this he repeated his invasion only a year after. This clearly indicates that something had gone amiss during the short interval between the two wars and the Sultan felt encouraged to take advantage of the same. We shall, therefore, do well to analyse the causes that led to this event and ultimately brought about the defeat and destruction of the Chāhamānas in 1192 A. D.

The main weakness of India, or for the matter of that, of the Chāhamāna kingdom of Ajmer, lay in the political divisions of the country, and although the immediate need of the time was a united front against a foreign invasion which was threatening the country from the north-west, the political bankruptcy on the part of the Hindu kings came in their way and they failed to put up a concerted effort against a common enemy. Prithvīrāja III was no doubt the most powerful king of his time, but his frequent wars against the kings of Kanauj, Gujrat and Kalinjar had cost him some of his ablest generals and had made him weak to that extent. This internecine warefare was further responsible for the neglect of the north-western frontier where a serious storm was brewing and was only biding time to take the whole country by surprise. Moreover, it had created for him more enemies than friends and, while he was engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the Turks, his political rivals in the country watched the deteriorating state of affairs with utmost indifference to the impending peril. Their inactivity failed them to rise equal to the occasion and they paid heavily for this lack of political sagacity. They might have felt happy over the fall of Ajmer but destiny had no better fate in store for them and this fateful event only paved the way for their own destruction.

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[116] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 229-31.

The race for political supremacy in northern India between Prithvīrāja and Jayachandra was bound to have far-reaching results and the former's victory against the Ghorian Sultan in 1191 A. D. helped to accelerate their political rivalry to such an extent that the Gāhaḍavāla king probably took to the performance of a Rājasūya Yajña[117] to counterbalance the enhanced prestige of the Chāhamāna sovereign. The climax was, however, reached when Prithvīrāja abducted the Gāhaḍavāla princess from her marriage pandal. Thus Prithvīrāja's triumphal exit from Kanauj established his political ascendancy in the whole of northern India. But this battle cost him the flower of his army and he lost some of his most veteran generals in action. The defeat of king Jayachandra, on the other hand, made him all the more jealous of his powerful rival and, although the old tradition that he invited and actively assisted the Sultan against Prithvīrāja cannot be supported for lack of proper evidence, he refused to listen to the advice of his minister Vidyādhara who compared Prithvīrāja to the 'Argalā' of the gates of India and requested him to help the king of Ajmer in his noble endeavour to defend the counry and its freedom against the Turks.[118]

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[117] Prithviraja Raso. Canto 48.

Prithvīrāja's attention was further diverted towards his campaign against the Rājā of Jamūn who had gone to Lahore to console the Sultan in his hour of defeat and had offered him his active help and co-operation against Prithvīrāja.[119]

The Chāhamāna sovereign was probably not quite prepared for the next encounter against the Sultan. He is said to have gone to the battlefield with a handful of his army while his Senādhipati Skanda was engaged on a different front.[120] He, however, commanded his general (or ally) Udayarāja to follow him, but he reached the field when the war was already decided in favour of the Turks.[121] This clearly indicates a complete lack of foresight and an utter disregard of the war strategy on the part of Prithvīrāja. But, above all, his sense of security was an important factor in the decision of the war, and a false notion of his own power and an under-estimate of his enemy's strength lay at the root of Prithvīrāja's final defeat. After his victory against the Turks and the Gāhaḍavālas, Prithvīrāja took to the life of ease and comfort and neglected completely the affairs of the State.[122] This caused confusion in the kingdom and the king was himself off his guard, thinking probably that the danger was over. And when the Sultan crossed the borders at the head of a huge army, Prithvīrāja failed to muster his forces and marched ahead to meet his formidable foe only with a part of his army.

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[118] SJGM, Vol. II, p. 89. We learn from the 'Viruddha-Vidhi-Vidhvanśa' that when Prithvirāja started for the final battle against the Sultan, his Senādhipati Skanda had gone to a different front (verse 23 ; IHQ, September, 1940, p. 571). It is highly probable that Skanda might have been deputed to guard the frontiers of the kingdom against the Gāhadawālas while Prithvīrāja was engaged in a deadly war against the Turks.

[119] Raverty, TN, Vol. I, p. 460, footnote 3 & pp. 466-67, footnote 1.

But Prithvīrāja seems to have committed the greatest strategic blunder in the field of battle and, if Muslim historians are to be relied upon, he put too much reliance on the words of his enemy who concluded a short truce with the Chāhamāna sovereign, apparently with a view to throwing him off his guard. Treachery was, however, foreign to the nature of the Rajputs and Shahāb-ud-din

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[120] IHQ, September, 1940, p. 571.

[121] HM. III. 68-73 ; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 61.

[122] SJGM, Vol. II, pp. 86-87 ; Prithvīrāja Rāso 2129-44.

Ghori knew it full well, while to him it was definitely a means to an end.[123] The Chāhamāna forces felt secure, and, relieved of the pressure for the next dayś battle, they passed the night in rejoicing. The Sultan, on the other hand, was busy with his manoeuvres all the night long, and during the early hours of the morning the Musalmans fell upon the enemy while the Rajput soldiers were still asleep or engaged in morning ablutions.[124]

The superior strategy of the Sultan brought about the final collapse of the Chāhamānas in the second battle of Tarain. He divided his cavalry into different divisions, four of which were directed to harass the Rajputs from the right and left and front and rear while maintaining a distance of a horse-course in front of them. When the Rajputs were thus wearied and exhausted, a reserved division of 12,000 horse, who were the pick of his army charged them vigorously and carried every thing before them.[125]

When Prithvīrāja was put to death after his defeat in 1192 A.D., a sense of frustration overtook the Chāhamānas. It caused confusion and chaos in the kingdom, and, as his suceessors proved unworthy of the high post and failed to discharge their heavy responsibility in the hour of defeat and despair, complete disruption set in the empire. The selfish and greedy provincial governors and feudal chiefs, with utter unconcern for the central authority and their king, took the opportunity to assert their independence in their respective spheres. They could not combine to put up a united front against the invader, and although they fought singly and harassed the enemy considerably, they failed to dislodge them. They were defeated one by one and in the course of a few years the Turks became the master of the whole of the Chāhamāna empire.

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[123] The Ṣultan had already taken possession of Ucha through treachery.

[124] Elliot, Vol. II, p. 200 ; Raverty : TN, Vol. I, p. 466, foot-note 1. Briggs : TF, Vol. I, p. 176 ; Tawney : PC, p. 191.

[125] Raverty, TN, Vol. I, pp. 465-69 ; ibid, p. 468, foot-note 2.

But, apart from the political causes that ultimately brought about the defeat and destruction of the Chāhamānas, there also appear to have been some inherent and potent factors which had practically sapped the energy of the Hindu society and made it too imbecile and weak to withsatnd the fierce onslaught of foreign invaders. The original four divisions of the Hindu society, called 'Varṇas', which had been for a long time a real source of co-operation and strength, had, by the end of our period, been so tightened and ramified that the defence of the country had become no concern of any of the ' Varṇas ' other than the Kshtriyas and the former began to view with utter indifference any political upheaval and change in the country. They perhaps thought that their life and property were safe in the state even though they kept themsleves completely aloof from it. They knew that no change of masters could interrupt their activities of material or spiritual advancement. But this was possible only so long as the head of the state was an Indian prince. The case with an alien ruler was, however, entirely different. He had no respect or scruples for their age-old institutions whether social, political, cultural or religious, and he was in no way bound by Indian code of conduct and morality to protect the life and property of the unbelievers in the way they liked. Thus, this general apathy of a huge mass of people towards the state made it all the weaker at a crucial time in the history of the country.

This social system was further responsible to entrust the defence of the country to only a handful of its members, called the Kshatriyas. They were no doubt a brave and chivalrous people to whom fighting was the noblest of professions. But they were fewer in number than any of the 'Varṇas' and, inspite of the fact that India was a vast country, she could not take any advantage of its huge man-power against her enemies. Frequent internecine wars among the Kshatriya princes further sapped the energy of the nation and caused the number of her fighting strength to decline. A Rajput, a good soldier as he was, always fought straight and often without a plan. Lack of co-operation and proper gradation in the ranks further undermined the discipline of the army. A Rajput soldier owed allegiance to his immediate master or superior only and this made the confusion worse confounded in the field of battle. The Rajputs are a very sensitive people regarding honour and prestige and have practically no faith in the maxim 'forget and forgive.' This could breed only hatred and hostility in their midst and they failed to unite even against a common foe. Their proverbial generosity and straightforwardness, on the other hand, always stood in the way of their taking any lesson from past experiences and, although the Turks and the Afghans from the north-west had many a time adopted treachery and deceit against them in the field of battle, they would always abhor such tactics as immoral and inappropriate for a true soldier. This notion of a soldier's duty, though laudable, greatly weakned their war-strategy. For, this was all right so long as they were fighting among themselves, but it could not, and did not, avail them against the Turks to whom the end justified the means.

The religious system, as prevalent in India aduring this period, is also responsible to generate a feeling of indifference and detachment among the people towards their duty to state, As Indian religions attach more importance to the spiritual rather than the material side of life, the people in general showed a marked apathy to the service of the state, or, for the matter of that, to the country as a whole. They had a firm conviction that what is ordained must come to pass and, as every thing is predestined, they must bear it patiently, for there is no way out from the clutches of the almighty fate.[126] This attitude towards life and state was bound to make them inactive and indifferent towards all that belonged to this world. Moreover, their undue emphasis on spiritualism as well as to the worship of different gods for the realization of the world-hereafter caused to accumulate immense riches in the temples of their gods. This only increased the greed of the invaders who had obviously no respect for the religious sentiments of the Hindus, or for their gods or their images and idols. Furthermore, the Hindus believed that their gods would surely come to their rescue against the enemies of their religion[127], but they were sadly disillusioned, for gods help only those who help themselves.

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[126] SJGM, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.

The religious zeal of the Turks and the Afghans, on the other hand, helped them considerably to score decisive victories against their Hindu opponents. It was a great factor which alone, if not anything else, kept them united under a single banner. Then the greed for plunder and loot of the fabulous riches accumulated in Hindu temples offered them a further stimulous and, although they were defeated in battles, they never lost either hope or courage. Thus their singleness of purpose, characteristic tenacity, religious fanaticism and ,above all, their superior strategy finally crowned them with complete success and brought the whole of the country under their subjection and rule.

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127. Ibn-al-Athir as quoted in the Crescent in India by S. R. Sharma, p. 56.

CHAPTER X

THE CHĀHAMĀNAS OF NAḌḌŪLA

The founder of the Naḍḍūla branch of the Chāhamānas was the celebrated prince Laskshmaṇa, commonly known in bardic traditions as Rāo Lākhā or Lākhaṇa,[1] who branched off from the main line of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī. The inscriptions of this dynasty agree in tracing the genealogy of the line from the Śākambharī prince Lakshmaṇa[2], the son of king Vākpatirāja I[3], who flourished in the second quarter of the 10th century A.D. But, strangely enough, the founder of this illustrious family is not even mentioned in the official records of the Chāhamānas of Sāmbhar and Ajmer. Other records are equally silent and obscure about the reasons which led this prince to finally break off from the main dynasty.

Modern scholars have shown little interest in the solution of this problem. Dr. H. C. Ray, however, by way of an explanation to the term 'Śākambharīndra' in the Sundhā hill inscription,[4] puts forth a suggestion that "it may contain a veiled hint that he (Lakshmaṇa) was also a claimant for the ancestral throne when his brother Simharāja succeeded their father. This may be one of the reasons which led him to migrate from his ancestral home in search of a new dominion ".[5]

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[1] MNK, Vol. I. p. 152.

[2] E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 63-67, 67-69, 69-79, 79-81.

[3] ibid, p. 67.

[4] ibid, p. 72, verse 5.

But the ' Lākhaṇa Rāula Prabandaḥ ' in the Purātana Prabandha Sangraha throws some welcome light on the issue which might help us to its possible solution. We are told there that prince Lākhaṇa (Lakshmaṇa) of Śākambharī started on an indefinite journey taking with him his wife and a menial servant. Tired as they were, they proposed to pass the night in a temple at Naḍḍūla, and after some rest, to resume their journey the next morning.[6] From this we may conclude that he was moving about without any particular aim in view and that he had no support behind him either of his father or of his brother, and a prince as he was, he had no army either to follow him. But, as the later records reveal, he seems to have been a man of action who ultimately succeeded in carving out for himself a principality round about Naḍḍūla.

In the light of this we may venture to analyse the causes of his plight. A close examination of facts leads us to the conclusion that the prince was driven to despair by force of circumstances and, therefore, he set out to seek for himself ' fresh woods and pastures new ' in the wider world. His relations with his brother do not seem to have been cordial. It is highly probable that either he aspired for the throne of his father after his death or, at some later date, he incurred the displeasure of his royal brother by some unwise action and thus he was forced to quit his hearth and home.

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5. DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1105.
6. SJGM, Vol. II, p. 101.

His removal from Śākambarī appears to have been a serious affair, so much so that he is quite conspicuous by the absence of his name in the contemporary Harsha stone inscription, issued in 973 A. D., where in two of his brothers and four nephews have been mentioned by their names.[7] Had he founded his kingdom either with the help of his brother, or even with his consent, the official record must have mentioned this fact with a certain amount of pride, for this was no mean an achievement. This state of affairs did not end here, but it continued throughout their long existence. The subsequent records of the main line maintained this silence without any break and the initial separation was probably the cause of their continued enmity.

The Sundhā Hill inscription applies to him the epithet 'Śākambharīndra' the lord of Śākambharī,[8] while the Mount Ābū inscription calls him 'Śākambharī Māṇikya', jewel of Śākambharī, who, by his valour, acquired part of the earth.[9] These 'virudas', which are at best poetic exaggerations, cannot be taken without a grain of salt and the falsity of their face-value is proved beyond a shadow of doubt by the succession of king Simharāja to the throne of Śākambharī after the death of Vākpatirāja I[10]. The term 'Śākambharīndra', therefore, can only connote, as Prof. F. Kielhorn has rightly suggested, a Śākambharī prince.[11] He might have also been, by the valour of his arms, a jewel of Śākambharī during the reign of his father Vākpatirāja, or even afterwards so long as he was on good terms with his reigning brother.

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[7] IA, 1913, pp. 57-64.

[8] EI, Vol. IX, p. 71, verse 5.

[9] ibid, p. 80.

[10] IA, 1913, p. 58 ; PV. V. 44.

[11] EI, Vol. IX, p. 71.

The ' Lākhaṇa Rāula Prabandha ' informs us that the personal valour of the prince combined with the blessing of the family goddess brought for him the possession of twelve thousand horses which proved instrumental in carving out a kingdom round Naḍḍūla.[12] A similar story is recorded in the Khyāta of Muhaṇot Naiṇasi as well.[13]

These references clearly reveal that prince Lakshmaṇa made his position secure in that region and maintained a strong cavalry which helped him in consolidating his dominion which he had acquired by dint of his arms.

The Chāhamāna bards speak in very lofty terms of the achievements of Rāo Lākhā who ' collected transit dues from the further gates of Pāṭana, levied tribute from Chitor and his every undertaking he finished with complete success.[14] Dr. G. H. Ojha, however, is not inclined to accept this statement. On the contrary, he holds that it does not seem to have been possible for the Rāo to have realised transit dues from Aṇhilapāṭana and levied tribute from the princes of Chitor, as his contemporaries, Mūlarāja I of Gujrat and Śaktikumāra and his son Ambāprasāda of Mewar were independent princes.[15] This statement is thus open to contention, but, all the same, we may infer from this that the Chāhamāna prince wielded considerable influence during his reign and made his position strong in the neighbourhood.

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[12] SJGM, Vol. II, pp. 101-02.

[13] We are told that the goddess Āśāpūrī (Āśāpurṇā) was so pleased with Rāo Lākhaṇa that she gave him the kingdom of Naḍḍūla. The Rāo then prayed the deity for some horses for the maintenance of his regal position. He was granted the boon and the goddess told him that on a certain day the horses of a Sobata (caravan) would come to him on their own accord. On that day 13,000 horses entered the town accompanied by the merchants. But the kind deity changed their colour and the horses passed into the hands of the Rāo while the merchants went back disappointed. MNK, Vol. I, p. 152.

[14] Tod : AAR (Crooke ed.) Vol. II, p. 808.

The prince is said to have taken a Vaiśya girl to wife after he was settled at Naḍḍūla as king.[16]

Among the numerous achievements of king Lakshmaṇa is included the ancient fort of Naḍḍūla well known for its strength.[17] He is also reported to have erected the famous Suraj-Pol at Naḍḍūla.[18]

The Suraj Pol inscription of Kelhaṇa, dated 1167 A. D., contains the date 982 A. D. for king Lakshmaṇa.[19] Col. James Tod refers to two of Lakshmaṇa's inscriptions which are said to be dated 967 A. D. and 982 A.D..[20] We are informed through another source that the Chāhamāna prince took possession of Naḍḍūla before

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15. Ojha : Sirohi Ka Itihas, pp. 168-69.
16. SJGM, Vol. II, p. 102.
17. SJGM, Vol. II, pp. 101-02.This fortress is 'on the declivity of a low ridge to the west-ward of the town, with square towers of ancient form, and built by a very curious conglomerate of granite and gneiss, of which the rock, on which it stands, is composed. Tod, AAR Vol. I, (1877) p. 550.
18. ibid : SJGM, Vol. II, p. 102.
19. ASI, Wc, 1908-9, p. 45.
20. AAR, (Crooke ed.) p. 807.

953 A. D.[21] The Harsha stone inscription, however, indirectly points out that he had branched off from the main dynasty some time before 973 A. D., the date of its issue.[22] A critical analysis of these dates brings us to the conclusion that the prince was settled at Naḍḍūla, some time before 967 A. D. And, as his brother simharāja ascended the throne of Sākambharī in c. 944 A. D., the possible date of his acquiring the new dominion may be fixed in c. 950 A. D., and he ruled there until 982 A.D.

ŚOBHITA

Most of the inscriptions of the family support the succession of Śobhita (Sohiya) to his father Lakshmaṇa[23] though the Mount Ābū inscription places Balirāja in between them.[24] Balirāja, however, was the son and successor of Śobhita,[25] and there seems to have been here a transposition of the two names. According to the Sundhā hill inscription this prince is credited to have taken away the glory of the lord of Arbuda.[26] This lord of Arbuda (Ābū) was perhaps the Paramāra king Araṇyarāja, the son of king Utpalarāja who had established himself at Ābū in c. 980 A.D.

The Sevadi plates inscription of king Ratnapāla calls him ' Dhārāpati' , the lord of Dhārā.[27] According to Dr.

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[21] MNK, Vol. I, p. 104-05, foot-note 2.

[22] IA, 1913, pp. 57-64.

[23] EI, Vol. IX, pp. 64. 67 and 71.

[24] EI, Vol. IX pp. 79-81.

[25] ibid, pp. 63 and 67.

[26] ibid, p. 71.

[27] ibid, Vol. XI, p. 309.

D. C. Ganguly the name Dhārā has been an erroneous substitute of Thārā, a celebrated city in Marwar in the 12th century A. D.[28] But his son and successor Balirāja is also said to have defeated an army of king Munjarāja of Dhārā.[29] It appears that while the Paramāra king Munjarāja was busy in his southern campaigns against the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, the Chāhamāna prince might have, for a short time at least, taken possession of Dhārā, the Paramara capital of Malwa. Thus we find here that the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍūla were definitely on hostile terms with the Paramāras and this was the beginning of their struggle in which the Chāhamānas appear to have been aggressors.

BALIRĀJA

He was the son and successor of king Śobhita.[30] He continued with success the struggle begun in the time of his father against the Paramāras and is said to have defeated an army of king Munjarāja[31](974-95 A.D.). The Paramāra king might have sent this army against him to avenge his former defeat, while he himself was engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the Chālukya king Tailapa II (973-997 A. D.) of Kalyāṇī.

VIGRAHAPĀLA

Balirāja seems to have had no son and the throne passed on to his paternal uncle Vigrahapāla.[32] Nothing of any importance is known of him who probably enjoyed a short reign.

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[28] Ganguly : The History of the Paramāras, p. 51, foot-note 4.

[29] EI, Vol. IX, p. 71.

[30] EI : Vol. IX, pp. 63, and 67.

[31] ibid, p. 71.

[32] ibid, p. 67.

MAHĪNDU

He succeeded his father Vigrahapāla to the throne[33], though the Sundhā hill and Mt. Ābū inscriptions put him immediately after Balirāja.[34] Prof. F. Kielhorn identifies this Mahīndu with Mahīndra or Mahendra of the Bijapur inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Dhavala of Hastikunḍī who assisted the former against a prince named Durlabharāja[35]. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies this Durlabharāja with the brother and successor of king Vallabharāja of Gujrat.[36] The Chāhamānas thus came into clash with their neighours, the Chaulukyas of Gujrat. This was the inevitable result of the policy of expansion followed by the Chāhamāna princes of Naḍḍūla.

The hostility between the houses of Gujrat and Naḍḍūla seems to have been bridged over by a matrimonial alliance between Mahīndu and Durlabharāja. The Dvāśraya Kāvya informs us that the Marwar king Mahendra arranged the 'Svayamvara' of his sister Durlabhādevī, and invited the kings of Angadeśa, Kāśī, Avanti, Chedi, Kuru, Mathurā, Vindhya, Āndhra and Gujrat to the function. From amongst the assembled princes, the Chāhamāna princess chose king Durlabharāja, son of king Chāmunḍarāja of Gurjarātra, as her husband

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[33] ibid, p. 67.

[34] ibid, pp. 71 and 80.

[35] ibid, Vol. X, p. 20, verse 11.

[36] EI, Vol. XI, p. 68.

and put the nuptial garland round his neck. Mahendra then gave away in marriage his another sister Lakshmīdevī also to Nāgarāja, the younger brother of the Gurjara king.[37] This also indicates that Mahīndu was a powerful king to whose invitation responded the kings of different countries.

The struggle against the Paramāras of Malwa continued during the reign of Mahīndu as well, and the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhavala, with whom the Chāhamāna chief appears to have been in close alliance, lent him a helping hand against king Munjarāja.[38]

The contemporaneity of Mahīndu with Munjarāja (974-95 A. D.) gives us the date of his accession to the throne in c. 994 A. D. And, as the last date of king Lakshmaṇa was c. 982 A. D.,[39] the three predecessors of Mahīndu, namely Śobhita, Balirāja and Vigrahapāla reigned in all for about 12 years between c. 982 and 994 A. D. In view of Mahīndu's quarrels and ultimate reconciliation with king Durlabharāja of Gujrat (c. 1010-1022 A. D.) we may approximately put the last date of this Chāhamāna king in c. 1015 A. D.

AŚVAPĀLA

Mahendra had two sons, namely Aśvapāla and Aṇahilla and the former succeeded his father to the throne of Naḍḍūla.[40] The Nadol plates of Alhaṇadeva as well as of Rājaputra Kīrtipāla omit his succession[41] and Dr. G. H. Ojha, on this basis, confuses his name for that of Vigrahapāla.[42] But this omission is apparently due to his not being in direct lineage to them. His reign seems to have passed off peacefully.

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[37] IA, Vol. IV, pp. 112-13.

[38] EI, Vol. X, p. 68.

[39] Supra, p. 237-38.

[40] EI, Vol. IX, p. 71.

AHILA

Aśvapāla's successor was his son Ahila[43] who is again omitted in the Nadol plates of Alhaṇadeva and Kīrtipāla.[44] He is credited to have won a victory against an army of the Gurjara king Bhīma,[45] i. e., Bhīmadeva I, the son of Nāgarāja and the successor of king Durlabharāja to the throne of Aṇhilapāṭana in 1022 A. D. Thus, the old enmity, which was composed by a matrimonial alliance during the reign of Mahīndu, was renewed once again. The Dvāśraya Kāvya, however, omits to mention this defeat of the Chaulukya prince.

AṆAHILLA

Ahila was succeeded by his paternal uncle Aṇahilla.[46] This indicates that Ahila had probably no son and that he died young. Similarity of names is often misleading and Dr. G. H. Ojha, on the basis of this similarity between the names of the uncle and the nephew, has dropped the name of the former from the genealogical table of the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍūla.[47]

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[41] ibid, pp. 63-67 and 67-69.

[42] Ojha-Sirohi kā Itihās, p. 172.

[43] EI, Vol. IX, p. 71

[44] ibid, pp. 63-67 and 67-69.

[45] EI, Vol. IX, p. 71.

[46] ibid, p. 71.

[47] Ojha, Sirohi Kā Itihās, p. 172.

Aṇahilla seems to have been a powerful king. The Sundhā hill inscription informs us that he defeated king Bhīma (Bhīmadeva I of Gujrat 1022-64 A. D.), took Śākambharī, and slew (or defeated) Sāḍha, a general of the Mālava king Bhoja (Paramāra king Bhojadeva, c. 1000-55 A. D.) and the Turushkas.[48] Perhaps in connection with his campaign against the Paramāra king Dhandhuka of Ābū,[49] the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva I sent an army against Aṇahilla as well to avenge himself of his former defeat at the hands of Ahila, but this army also met the same fate. Thus the two consecutive attempts made by Bhīmadeva I against the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍūla bore no fruit.

The history of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī provides us with no ground to maintain that Aṇahilla was able to take possession of Śākambharī. The Prithvīrāja Vijaya, of course, informs us that king Bhojadeva deprived Vīryarāma of his glory and killed him.[50] So if there be any truth in the claim made in the above inscription it might be possible only on the assumption that king Bhojadeva of Mālavā, in alliance with Aṇahilla, invaded Śākambharī and killed its king Vīryarāma. But even this assumption can credit him only with the glory of having defeated and killed the Chāhamāna king of Śākambharī. It cannot help us to admit that the Naḍḍūla king took possession of it, for there is absolutely nothing to warrant the admission of this claim in the records of the kings of Śākambharī.

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[48] EI. Vol., IX, p. 71.

[49] Ojha : Sirohi ka Itihas, p. 172.

[50] PV, V, 67.

We are further told that Aṇahilla killed (or defeated) Sāḍha, the Paramāra general of Mālavā. This indicates that if there was an alliance at all between the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍūla and the Paramāras of Mālavā against their common enemy, the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī, it came to an abrupt end and they had to settle their old and hereditary differences by an appeal to arms in which Aṇahilla came out victorious and killed the Paramāra general Sāḍha. This might have happened in the closing years of the reign of king Bhojadeva (c. 1000-55 A. D.) when the clouds of misfortune were gathering strong on the horizon of Dhārā and the celebrated city was attacked and sacked by Bhīmadeva I of Gujrat in alliance with the Chedi king Karṇa.[51]

Regarding his victory over the Turushkas, it was most probably against Mahmud of Ghazni while the latter was on his way back from the invasion of Somanātha. Firishta tells us that " When Param Deo, and the Raja of Ajmer and others, had assembled a large army and taken possession of the roads, in order to oppose the Sultan, the latter found it impracticable to face them, and therefore marched to Multan by way of Sind "[52] It appears that the Rajput kings united to block the way of the Sultan who, like a cautious general, changed his route to avoid a clash with them.

This victory is important in so far as it helps us in fixing the date of his accession to the throne. We have seen that his father Mahendra ruled till c. 1015 A. D. and

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[51] Tawney : PC, pp. 74-75 ; DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 869 and 951.

[52] Elliot : Vol. II, pp. 219-20.

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then he was followed by his son Aśvaka (Aśvapāla) and grand son Ahila on the throne. As Aṇahilla took up arms against Sultan Mahmud in 1026 A. D. he might have ascended the throne sometime earlier. And again his immediate predecessor Ahila fought and defeated Bhīmadeva I who sat on the throne of Aṇahilapāṭana in 1022 A. D., so Aṇahilla's date of accession appears to be somewhere between 1022 and 1026 A. D., preferrably in c. 1024 A.D. Thus we may further assign a reign period of 9 years (1015-24 A. D.) to two of his immediate predecessors. This prince possibly enjoyed a long reign and his closing years seem to have coincided with the death of king Bhojadeva, in c. 1055 A. D.

BĀLAPRASĀDA

Aṇahilla was succeeded on the throne by his son Bālaprasāda who forced king Bhīma (Bhīmadeva I of Gujrat) to release from prison a king named Krishṇadeva.[53] Dr. D. C. Ganguly places Krishṇarāja (Krishṇadeva of the inscription) in the line of the Paramāras of Bhinmal or Marumaṇḍala and calls him the son and grandson of Dhandhuka and Devarāja respectively.[54] Dr. Kielhorn also calls him a Paramāra king.[55]

Here for the first time we notice that the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍūla took up the cause of the Paramāraṣ and made an alliance with them to oppose the growing power of the Chaulukyas who were becoming a menace to both the houses. Thus three Chāhamāna kings in succession fought successfully against Bhīmadeva I who had a long reign (1022-64 A.D.).

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[53] EI, Vol. IX, p. 72.

[54] JBORAS, Vol. XVIII, pp. 40 ff

[55] Dr. Kielhorn observes that Krishṇadeva is most probably the Paramāra king Krishṇarāja, the son of Dhandhuka and grand son of (?) Devarāja of whom we have two inscriptions at Bhinmal dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067. EI, Vol. IX, p. 72; also Kielhorn's Northern List, Nos. 689 and 690.

We may roughly assign this prince an approximate reign of about 15 years from 1055 to 1070 A. D. in consideration of the long rule of his father.

JENDRARĀJA

Bālaprasāda had probably no son and his successor to the throne was his younger brother Jendrarāja, also known as Jendurāja, Jendrapāla and Jayasaladeva. He is said to have fought victoriously at Sanḍera.[56] The defeated prince, however, remains unknown. But, taking into consideration the long enmity between the houses of the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas, he might have possibly defeated an army of the Chaulukya king Karṇa (1064-94 A.D.).

He seems to have been a learned man and is said to have been proficient in polity (Nīti Sadvahaḥ).[57] The temple of Jendrarājeśvara, which is referred to in the Nadol inscription of Rāyapāla[58], was perhaps built by him. This prince had three sons namely Prithvīpāla, Jojala or Yojaka and Aśvarāja.[59] In consideration of the Auvā temple inscription of his reign, dated 1075

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[56] EI, Vol. IX, p. 72. Sanḍera is to be identified with mod. Sanderav, SW of Nadol in the former Jodhpur State.

[57] ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 30-32, verse 3.

[58] ibid, p. 38.

[59] ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 83.

A. D.[60] we may conclude that he reigned for about 10 years, between c. 1070 and 1080 A. D.

PRĪTHVĪPĀLA

The eldest of his sons, Prithvīpāla, ascended the throne after Jendrarāja. He defeated an army of the Gurjara king Karṇa, i. e. Bhīmadeva's son and successor Karṇa Trailokyamalla (1064-94 A. D.).[61]

The Prithvīrāja Vijaya informs us of the assistance given by the Chāhamāna king Vigraharāja III of Ajmer to king Udayāditya Paramāra of Mālava against the Chaulukya king Karṇa.[62] It appears that the growing power of the Chaulukyas was threatening to be a menace to its neighbours and, in order, therefore, to meet this menace the Chāhamānas and the Paramāras united and thus a triple alliance of Ajmer, Dhārā, and Naḍḍūla seems to have come into existence against the Chaulukya king Karṇa in which the latter was defeated. Through this success Prithvīpāla maintained the traditional policy of his house against the Chaulukyas.

As 1090 A. D. is the earliest known date of his successor[63], we may approximately assign him a reign of 10 years from 1080 to 1090 A. D.

JOJALLADEVA

The Nadol plates of Alhaṇdeva record that Prithvīpāla was succeeded by his younger brother Jojalla[64] who appears as Yojaka in the Sundhā hill inscription,[65] although the Mount Ābū inscription[66] and the Nadol plates of Kīrtipāla[67] drop his name from the genealogical tree. His succession indicates that Prithvīpāla's son was either a minor or was born posthmously and the throne was appropriated by his uncle after Prithvīpāla's death.

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[60] Noticed in the Sirohi Ka Itihas by Ojha, p. 172, Auvā is in the Godwar province of the former Jodhpur State.

[61] EI, Vol. IX, p. 72.

[62] PV, V, 76-78.

[63] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 26-27.

[64] EI, Vol. IX, pp. 63-67.

He is credited to have occupied Aṇahillapura by force.[68] But we know that the Chaulukya king Karṇa was a powerful monarch and he could not have been easily dislodged and his son Siddharāja Jayasimha is also known to have had a smooth succession. The Hammīra Mahākāvya informs us that the Ajmer king Dūshala (Durlabharāja III) fought successfully against the Chaulukya Karṇa.[69] So, if there be any truth in the above claim, it amy be assumed that the alliance of both the houses of the Chāhamānas, which came in existence during the time of Prithvīpāla, continued and once again the sister Kingdoms combined to hurl a defeat on the Chaulukyas. This victory might have enabled him to occupy, for a short time at least, the Gurjara capital as well.

His reign period seems to have covered nearly twenty years, for his earliest known date in 1090 A. D.[70] whereas that of his successor is 1110 A. D.[71]

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[65] ibid, pp. 69-79.

[66] ibid, pp. 79-81.

[67] ibid, pp. 67-69.

[68] EI, Vol. IX, p. 72.

[69] HM, II, 31.

[70] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 26-27.

[71] ibid, pp. 28-30.

ĀŚĀRĀJA AND RATNAPĀLA

Jojalladeva had perhaps no son and was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Āśārāja[72] who is also known as Aśvaka and Aśvarāja. It was the reign of this prince that witnessed the disintegration and decline of the kingdom. Mutual quarrels and family feuds sapped its vitality and the kingdom soon fell a prey to anarchy and confusion.

The Sevadi stone inscription of his reign, dated 1110 A. D.[73], styles him as Mahārājādhirāja, which position he apparently maintained until 1115 A. D. when his son Kaṭukarāja was a Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) enjoying the Bhukti.[74] But his Bālī stone inscription, dated 1143 A. D., sings an absolutely different tune. It refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of Mahārājādhirāja Śrījayasimhadeva of the Chaulukya dynasty and speaks of him (Āśārāja) as 'subsisting on his lotus-like feet.'[75] The Nananā grant of Alhaṇa informs us that by the orders of his overlord Siddharāja, Āśārāja went to fight at Dhārā its ruler Naravarman who shut himself behind the walls of his fort in fear as soon as he saw Āśārāja.[76] In the Sundhā hill inscription also he is said to have pleased Siddhādhirāja (Siddharāja Jayasimha) by the assistance which he rendered him in the country of Mālavā, but afterwards he was apparently on hostile terms with him.[77]

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[72] ibid, Vol. IX, p. 72.

[73] ibid Vol. XI, pp. 28-30.

[74] ibid, pp. 30-32.

[75] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 32-33.

[76] Sharma: Early Chauhan Dynastics pp. 183 and 186, lines 13-14.

[77] EI, Vol. IX, p. 72.

These epigraphic evidences reveal that in the beginning of his reign Āśārāja enjoyed an independent position, but his assistance to Siddharāja Jayasimha in his campaign against the Paramāras of Malwa, who were on friendly terms with the Chāhamānas, and his subsisting on Jayasimha's lotus-like feet in the latter part of his reign definitely suggest his position as a feudatory to the Chaulukya sovereign.

These conflicting statements raise three points for consideration.

(i) Why did Āśārāja, whose family had always united with the Paramāras against the growing menace of the Chaulukyas for more than a century, assist Siddharāja in his campaign against the Paramāras of Malwa ?

(ii) Why did Āśārāja, who was an independent ruler till 1115 A. D., become a feudatory chief to the Chaulukya ruler ?

(iii) What again made Āśārāja hostile to Jayasimha ?

For an answer to these questions we may turn our attention to the Sevadi copper plates of the Chāhamāna king Ratnapāla, dated 1119 A. D. This inscription supplies us the following information :

(a) It traces the Chāhamāna genealogy from king Lakshmaṇa to Prithvīpāla and calls Ratnapāla the son of the latter.

(b) It styles Ratnapāla as Mahārājādhirāja.

(c) It records the grant of a village named Gumda Kurchcha (mod. Gundoch) to Brahmaṇas by king Ratnapāla.

(d) The king issued the orders for the grant after having called together all his ministers, civil and military officers, the head men as well as the leading persons among his subjects and all the resident Brāhmaṇas of the Saptaśata Vishaya.

(e) The grant was issued in 1119 A. D.

(f) The seat of government was at Naḍḍūla, the head quarters of the armies being in the village Nahura.[78]

This inscription thus lays it down definitely that in 1119 A. D. Prince Ratnapāla was on the throne of Naḍḍūla. Sometime between 1115 and 1119 A. D. this prince appears to have dispossessed Āśārāja of the kingdom of Naḍḍūla and appropriated it for himself. We have already seen that after the death of Prithvīpāla Jojalladeva ascended the throne setting aside the calims of the former's son. Jojalladeva's reign was, however, quite smooth and peaceful and the young prince Ratnapāla was perhaps patiently awaiting his own chance to the throne, for his reigning uncle probably had no issue. Jojjaladeva died, but, to his great dismay, the throne was occupied by his another uncle Āśārāja. Ratnapāla put forward his own claim which, he knew it well, could be got only through an appeal to arms. In his attempt he apparently succeeded and some time before 1119 A. D. Naḍḍūla passed into his hands and Āśārāja was dislodged.

It appears that perhaps in a moment of despair king Āśārāja went over to the side of the Chaulukyan king, the hereditary enemey of his house to enlist his support for the fulfilment of his ambition to regain the lost throne. This inevitably led him to accept the suzerainty of king Jayasimha and to 'subsist on his lotus-like feet', while the Chāhamānas at Naḍḍūla continued their independence under the reign of Ratnapāla and his son Rāyapāla.

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[78] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 304-13.

Āśārāja, once in the camp of the Chaulukyas, was obliged to give every possible help to Siddharāja Jayasimha. When the latter raised a revengeful war for 12 years (c. 1122-34 A. D.) against the Paramāra king Naravarman,[79] the Chāhamāna prince joined hands with him and thus he broke up the hereditary friendship with the house of the Paramāras of Malwa.

The new alignment changed into hostility. It happened perhaps on account of non-availability of the expected help from Jayasimha who is nowhere known to have raised his arms against Naḍḍūla.

Thus, driven away from the throne sometime before 1119 A. D., Āśārāja continued in this position till 1143 A. D.[80] We, however, find his son Kaṭukarāja styling himself as Mahārājādhirāja while his son Jayatasimha enjoyed the Bhukti of Samīpati as Yuvarāja in 1144-45 A. D.[81] But, as this Sevadi inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Kaṭukarāja was issued in (Simha) Samvat 31, i.e., 1144-45 A. D., it is clear that the Chāhamāna prince was still under the sphere of influence of the Chaulukyas and perhaps he got back his father's kingdom through the assistance of the Chaulukya sovereign Kumārapāla, the successor of Siddharāja Jayasimha.

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[79] PC (Tawny ed.) pp. 85 ff.

[80] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 32-33.

[81] ibid, pp. 33-34.

RĀYAPĀLA

King Ratnapāla ruled the kingdom until 1132 A. D., the earliest known date of his son and successor Rāyapāla.[82] The latter prince seems to have enjoyed the position of an independent king upto 1145 A. D.[83] But, towards the close of his reign, his position appears to have been seriously jeopardized and Āśārāja's son prince Kaṭukarāja revived his claim in all its vehemence. The use of the Simha Era in one of his inscriptions[84] points out that, to gain his objective, prince Kaṭukarāja sought the assistance of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla (1143-73 A. D) with whose active support he succeeded in ousting Rāyapāla from the throne of Naḍḍūla.

If this guess be correact, we may venture to arrive at one more conclusion. In the war of succession between Kumārapāla and Bāhaḍadeva, the adopted son of Jayasimha, for the throne of Aṇahilapāṭaka, Kaṭukarāja might have sided with the former against the latter on account of the ultimate hostility between their fathers. And, as this war ended in favour of Kumārapāla, the Chāhamāna prince also might have been helped by the Chaulukya king in the realisation of his cherished desires.

King Rāyapala was, to all intents and purposes, the last of the independent rulers of this family. Nothing of any importance is heard of his sons or brothers who appear to have contented themselves with insignificant position in the State.[85] The Ratanpur inscription of his brother Pūrṇapaksha's queen Girijādevī, issued in the victorious reign of Kumārapāla, reveals that, though the Chāhamāna prince Pūrṇapaksha was awarded with a throne in the territory of Ratanpur, he ultimately transferred his allegiance to the Chaulukya king and accepted his sovereignty.[86]

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[82] ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 34-36.

[83] ibid, pp. 34-43 ; Vol. IX, p. 159.

[84] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 33-34.

But nothing better was in store for prince Kaṭukarāja and his brother. They courted the assistance of the Chaulukyas of Gujrat at the cost of their independence and, through their mutual quarrels and civil wars, they only exposed the weakness of the Chāhamāna court to their hereditary enemy. The Chāhamānas of Naḍḍūla, therefore, had to lose much of their former power, prestige, as well as territory to the expanding Chaulukya imperialism under the vigorous rule of Kumārapāla and the sovereignty of the family was lost for a long time to come.

ALHAṆADEVA

Kaṭukarāja seems to have passed away sometimes after 1145 A. D. and was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Alhaṇa.[87] Like his brother, he was also an ally of king Kumārapāla. But he was soon reduced to the position of a feudatory chief by the powerful Chaulukya monarch. This was a natural corollary to the policy followed by his father and brother.

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[85] King Rāyapāla had a brother named Pūrṇapāla or Pūrṇapaksha, the name of whose wife is given as Girijādevī (P. and S. inscriptions, pp. 205-07). His wife Mānaladevī bore him two sons, namely Rudrapāla and Amritapāla and his next wife Padmalladevī gave birth to his third son Sahajapāla. EI, Vol. XI, p. 307.

[86] P. and S. Inscriptions, pp. 205-07.

The Nadol plates of prince Kīrtipāla tell us that Alhaṇadeva defeated the Saurāsṭrikas.[88] This is further corroborated by the testimony of the Sundhā hill inscription which informs us that Alhaṇa's assistance was sought by the Gurjara king and the former's army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of Surāsṭra.[89] We learn from Merutunga of the defeat of an expedition led by Prime-minister Udayana against the Saurastrika chief Samara (Saṁvara).[90] But it appears that another expedition was sent in that region, and, according to the testimony of the Kumārapāla Charita, the Saurastrika chief was defeated in c. 1149 A. D.[91] This success in the second attempt may be, therefore, attributed to the assistance of prince Alhaṇadeva. We may further conclude from this that he was on the throne sometime before 1149 A. D.

The Kiradu stone inscription informs us that in the year 1152 A. D. the Chāhamāna territory under Mahārāja Alhaṇadeva was confined to the districts of Kirāṭakūpa, Lāṭahrada and Sivā only and even this he is said to have received as a favour from his overlord Kumārapāla.[92] We further learn from the Prabandha Kośa that in the war between Kumārapāla and king Arṇorāja of Ajmer (c. 1150 A.D.) Kelhaṇa of Naḍḍūla and others[93], who were formerly allies of the king of Gujrat, were bought off to the side of the king of Ajmer. Kumārapāla, however, succeeded in breaking this alliance and forced them to join his camp again.[94]

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[87] EI. Vol. IX, pp. 64 and 72.

[88] EI, vol. IX, pp. 67-69.

[89] ibid, pp. 69-79.

[90] Tawney : PC, pp. 134-35.

[91] BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 186 ff, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 992.

A Nadol grant, dated, 1156 A.D., throws some more light on this issue. It tells us that Kumārapāla posted Mahāmanḍalika Pratāpasimha as his feudatory ruler at Naḍḍūla.[95] This state of affairs continued there for sometime and a Chaulukya Danḍanāyaka Vayajaladeva was in charge of the administration at Naḍḍūla in the year 1159 A.D., while the district of Vālhī (mod.Bali) was also under the possession of the Chaulukyas.[96]

These records are of considerable importance for the construction of the history of Naḍḍūla during the reign of prince Alhaṇdeva. It appears he had in the beginning

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[92] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 43-46.

[93] Prince Kelhaṇa was the son of king Alhaṇadeva of Naḍḍūla.

[94] SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 51.

[95] IA, Vol. XLI, pp. 202-03.

[96] ASI, W. C. 1907-08, pp. 54-55.

Dr. H. C. Ray observes that between 1146 and 1161 A. D. not a single inscription of the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍūla has been discovered in Godwar and instead of them we find the records of one Vaijalladeva (V. E. 1210-16) also known as Vayajaladeva who was a Danḍanāyaka of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla. This Vayajaladeva was also a Chāhamāna, but his exact relationship wth the Nadol branch is unknown. (DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1115, also footnote 1).

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probably a peaceful reign as an ally of the Chaulukyas of Gujrat. But his new alignment with the Chāhamānas of Ajmer against the Chaulukyan king in c. 1150 A. D. threw him in hot waters and it apparently cost him his ancestral throne. However, when the conflict was about to close, he came round and joined his former overlord to fight his battles. And it is was probably on account of his services in the concluding phase of the struggle that Kumārapāla favoured the Chāhamāna Chief with the grant of three districts.

Thus Naḍḍūla, which was a strong power only a generation before, was deprived of its former glory and a major portion of the kingdom including the seat of power passed into the hands of Kumārapāla. The Chāhamānas were reduced to the position of a petty feudatory chief who could serve hereafter only as a buffer state between the Chāhamānas of Ajmer and the Chaulukyas of Gujrat.

This was however a passing phase which was taken recourse to for reasons political as well as strategic. The Nadol grants of king Alhaṇadeva clearly reveal that the kingdom was restored, though not completely, to the Chāhamāna prince sometime before 1161 A. D.[97], but surely after 1159 A. D., the last known date of the Chaulukya governor in Godwar. This recovery of the ancestral throne was possibly the result of a gift or reward to Alhaṇadeva for his services rendered to his overlord Kumārapāla during his campaign in the south in c. 1160 A. D.[98]

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97. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 63-66.

98. PC. pp. 122-23 ; BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 186.

Alhaṇadeva appears to have also fallen a victim to the wrath of his cousins of Ajmer. King Vigraharāja IV is said to have made Naḍḍūla a nadvala or bed of reeds and Jāvālipura Jvālāpura carrying on an expedition of destruction over Nadol, Pālī and Jalor.[99] The Chāhamāna emperor must have led this expedition for personal as well as political reasons. He, therefore, avenged himself of the defeat of his father by the annihilation of the Naḍḍūlas who were the allies of the Chaulukyas of Gujrat. But, above all, he extended his hegemony in that direction as well and forced his cousins to look to Ajmer rather than to Pāṭan for safety and protection.

The last known date of this prince is 1162 A. D.[100], but he appears to have ruled upto 1163 A. D., the earliest known date of his son and successor.[101] He was assisted in the administration of the State by Kumāra Kelhaṇa[102] and his another son Gajasimha was entrusted with the administration of the province of Māṇḍavyapura.[103] A third son Kīrtipāla was given 12 villages appertaining to Naḍḍulāi[104] perhaps for his maintenance and he founded there a separate kingdom which was ruled over by his successors with Jāvālipura as its capital, for about two centuries. He had yet another son named Vijayasimha who established for himself a separate kingdom at Sānchor where his descendants ruled for about 250 years.[105]

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[99] JASB, 1886, Vol. LV part I, p. 30

[100] JASB, 1916, Vol. XII (N. S.) pp. 101-02.

[101] EI, Vol. XIII, pp. 207-08.

[102] EI, Vol. IX, p. 67-69.

[103] JASB, 1916, Vol. XII (N. S.) pp. 101-02.

[104] EI, Vol. IX, pp. 67-79.

[105] MNK, Vol. I, pp. 172-73.

KELHAṆADEVA

Kelhaṇadeva succeeded his father on the throne in c. 1163 A. D., the earliest known date of this prince.[106] Like his father he was in the beginning of his rule a feudatory ruler under the Chaulukyas of Gujrat. But apparently he was not satisfied with this position and he began to show signs of independence and assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara.[107] But soon after his ambition seems to have been curbed and he was obliged to submit to Kumārapāla of Gujrat.[108] But his cherished ambition appears to have been fulfilled[109] after the death of Kumārapāla when there was confusion in the kingdom of Gujrat.

In the Sundhā hill inscription he and his brother Kīrtipāla are referred to have destroyed the Turushkas.[110] The Prithvīrāja Vijaya, on the other hand, tells us that Muhammad Ghori took possession of Naḍḍūla.[111] It appears the Sultan captured the Chāhamāna capital on his way to Gujrat or at least made a successful raid against it. But the Chāhamānas appear to have made a common cause with the Chaulukyas of Gujrat. The Sultan sustained a crushing defeat in 1178 and when he retreated to his capital amidst considerable difficulties Kelhaṇa recovered Naḍḍūla and, in order to celebrate this victory, he erected a golden Toraṇa' like a diadem for the abode of the holy Someśa'.[112]

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[106] EI, Vol. XIII, pp. 207-08.

[107] JASB, Vol. XII, 1916, (NS.) pp. 103-04.

[108] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 47-48.

[109] ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 49-50.

[110] ibid, Vol. IX, p. 72.

[111] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 211.

He is also said to have defeated a southern king named Bhilima, who is to be identified with the Yādava king Bhillama of Deogiri (1187-91 A. D.)[113]

He had at least two sons, namely Jayatasimha[114] and Soḍhaladeva[115] of whom the former was made the heir-apparent while the latter was given the charge of the province of Māṇḍavyapura in 1184 A. D.[116] But before him this province was administered by Mahārājaputra Chāmunḍarāja[117] who also appears to be a son of Kelhaṇa.

The last known date of Kelhaṇadeva is V. E. 1249 (1193 A.D.).[118] And,as the first known date of his successor is 1194 A. D., Kelhaṇa appears to have died sometime in c. 1193 A. D.

Hasan Nizami states in the Taj-ul-Ma-Āsir that, when Kutb-ud-din left Ajmer to direct an attack on Aṇahilvāḍa in 1197 A. D., the Hindus "had collected under their leaders Rāi Karan and Dārābars in great numbers at the fort of Mount Ābū and, at the mouth of the pass, stood ready for fight and slaughter."[119] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies this Rāi Karan with Kelhaṇa,[120] but

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112. EI, Vol. IX, p. 72.
113. EI, Vol. IX, p. 72.
114. JRAS, 1913, pp. 278-79.
115. JASB, Vol. X, 1914 (NS) pp. 406-07.
116. JASB, Vol. X, 1914 (NS) pp. 406-07.
117. ibid Vol. XII, 1916, (NS) pp. 103-04.
118. JRAS, 1913, pp. 278-79.
119. Elliot : Vol. II, p. 230.
120. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 72 ff.

this mistake lies apparently at the door of the Muslim historian. Kelhaṇa was dead four years before this engagement and the Chāhamānas were probably led in this fight by Jayatasimha, the son and successor of Kelhaṇa. In view of the long and glorious reign of Kelhaṇa and comparatively insignificant rule of his successor, Hasan Nizami might have been familiar with the name of the former only and consequently he appears to have mentioned, rather carelessly, as is usual with the contemporary Muslim historians, the name of Kelhaṇa instead of that of his successor Jayatasimha.

Dr. H. C. Ray is inclined, however, to accept that, with the death of Kelhaṇa this line of the Chāhamānas ceased to rule from Nadol, and he says, " Whether we accept the identification of Rāi Karan with Kelhaṇa or not, it is certain that after the victory of Kutb-ud-din (1197 A. D.), the position of the Chāhamānas became exceedingly difficult, and, before long, they were compelled to abandon Nadol and seek a new base for their struggle with the Muslims. For all practical purposes I am disposed to regard Kelhaṇa as the last prince of the line who ruled from Nadol."[121] But, taking into consideration the death of Kelhaṇa in 1193 A. D. or shortly after and the engagement with the Muslims in 1197 A. D., Kelhaṇa cannot be taken to be the last prince of the line ruling from Nadol. This kingdom with its capital continued to be in the possession of the Chāhamānas at least during this intervening period.

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[121] DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1122-23.

JAYATASIṀHA

Kelhaṇa was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son Jayatasimha who had helped his father in the administration of the kingdom as Kumāra.

It was during his reign that Naḍḍūla was attacked and, most probably, the capital with the territory round it was taken possession of by the Muslims. Firishta tells us that " Kootb-ood-Deen, having recovered from his wounds, pursued the besieging army to Nehrwala, taking in his way the forts of Baly and Nadole."[122] Of the last two places Bālī is Pālī, the principal town of the district of the same name in the former Jodhpur State and Nadole is obviously Nadol.

Hasan Nizami describes this fateful engagement in greater detail and says, "In the middle of the month of Safar, 593 H, (1197 A. D.) the world-conquering Khusru departed from Ajmer . . . . .towards the annihilation of the Rāi of Nehrwala. When he reached the lofty forts of Pālī and Nandul, he found them abandoned, and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmans, and had collected under their leaders Rāi Karan and Darabars, in great numbers, at the foot of Mount Ābū, and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter. The Musulmans did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially, as in that very place Sultan Muhammad Sam Ghori had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander. The Hindus, seeing this hesitation and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoning the pass turned their faces towards the field of battle ... The two armies stood face to face for sometime engaged in preparations for fight, and, on the night preceding Sunday, the 13th of Rabiul awwal, in a fortunate moment the army of Islam advanced from its camp, and at the morn reached the position of the infidels. A servere action ensued from dawn to midday, when the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became of one level. Rāi Karan effected his escape from the field. More than twenty thousand slaves, and twenty elephants, and cattle and arms beyond all calculation, fell into the hands of the victors."[123]

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[122] Briggs, TF, Vol. I, p. 196.

Nandul mentioned here is clearly Nadol and the engagement appears to have taken place at Kāsahrada or Kāyadram, a village in the former Sirohi State at the foot of Mount Abu. It was apparently the very place where, in 1178 A. D., Muhammad Ghori was defeated by Mūlarāja II of Aṇahilapāṭaka. The Rāi Karan of the above passage, as we have seen above, is apparently Jayatasimha, the son and successor of Kelhaṇa. The Muslims fully avenged themselves of their former defeat and the Hindu army was completely routed leaving behind a large number as slain or captured. Jayatasimha (Rāi Karan) is reported to have fled from the field of battle. It was this battle perhaps which put an end to the rule of the Chāhamānas at Naḍḍūla and they were obliged to shift to some safer place to continue their struggle against the ever-increasing strength of Islam in India. At Nadol a Muslim governor appears to have been posted by Kutb-ud-din.

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[123] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 229-30.

Dr. G.H. Ojha, on the basis of two inscriptions of one Sāmantasimha, dated V. E. 1256 (1199 A. D.) and 1258 (1201 A. D.), thinks that possibly he was the successor of Jayatasimha and that the kingdom of Naḍḍūla was annexed into that of Jalor after him.[124] But it appears that, after the defeat of 1197 A. D., the kingdom broke into pieces and in its place there grew up many small principalities, some of which were, no doubt, governed by Chāhamāna princes, though the continuity of their rule at Nadol had come to its end.

An inscription, found at Achaleśvara on Mount Ābū, says that Jaitrasimha (1213-1252 A.D.) of the Guhila dynasty destroyed Nadūla and defeated the Turushka army.[125] This Turushka army must have been led by the Muslim governor posted there, and, after his defeat, Nadūla was seized by Jaitrasimha. The Chāhamāna king Udayasimha (1205-49 A. D.) of Jalor is also credited to have ruled the glorious Naḍḍūla and Māṇḍavyapura etc.[126] This Udayasimha, third in succession to Kīrtipāla, a brother of Kelhaṇadeva, was a powerful king who greatly extended his dominion which apparently included most of the districts originally held by the Nādoliyās.

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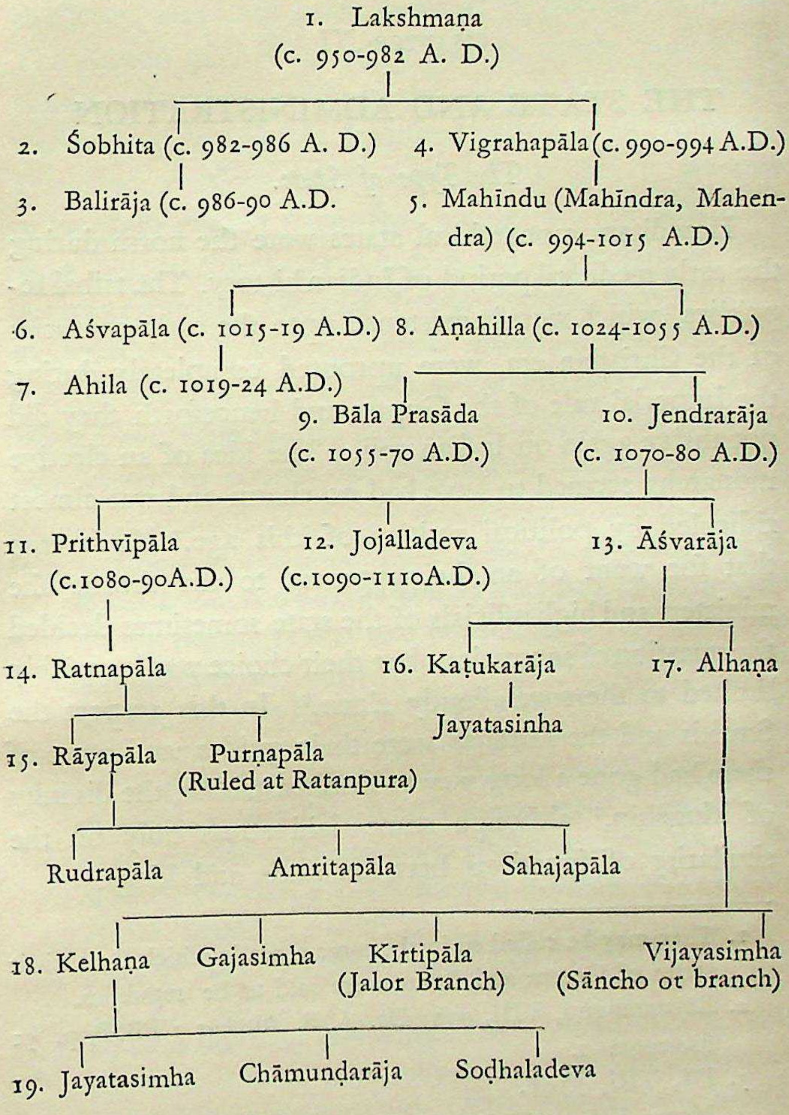
[124] Ojha, Sirohi kā Itihās, p. 178

[125] Bhavnagar Prak, and Sans. Inscriptions. p. 93.

[126] EI, Vol. IX, p. 73.

CHĀHAMĀNAS OF NAḌḌŪLA


1. Lakshmaṇa (c. 950-982 A. D.)
2. Śobhita (c. 982-986 A. D.)
4. Vigrahapāla (c. 990-994 A.D.)
3. Balirāja (c. 986-90 A.D.
5. Mahīndu (Mahīndra, Mahendra) (c. 994-1015 A.D.)
6. Aśvapāla (c. 1015-19 A.D.)
8. Aṇahilla (c. 1024-1055 A.D.)
7. Ahila (c. 1019-24 A.D.)
9. Bāla Prasāda (c. 1055-70 A.D.)
10. Jendrarāja (c. 1070-80 A.D.)
11. Prithvīpāla (c.1080-90A.D.)
12. Jojalladeva (c.1090-1110A.D.)
13. Āśvarāja
14. Ratnapāla
16. Kaṭukarāja
17. Alhaṇa
Jayatasinha
15. Rāyapāla
Purṇapāla (Ruled at Ratanpura)
Rudrapāla
Amritapāla
Sahajapāla
18. Kelhaṇa
Gajasimha
Kīrtipāla (Jalor Branch)
Vijayasimha (Sāncho or branch)
19. Jayatasimha
Chāmuṇḍarāja
Soḍhaladeva

CHAPTER XI

THE STATE AND ADMINISTRATION

The Type of State.

Hereditary monarchical states were the norm during the early medieval period of Indian history. The tribal republics,[1] which were in existence upto the early centuries of the Christian era, were uprooted completely during the Imperial rule of the Guptas and henceforth they did not thrive again on Indian soil. The idea of an elective monarchy seemed to have had no charm and was almost ridiculed by political writers of this age.[2] It is true that for want of an heir-apparent to the throne the ministers and high officials of the state sometimes decided the question of succession, but their choice was invariably limited to the royal family alone.[3] In this respect the Smritis and the Purāṇas were their guides and most of them had gone a long way to firmly establish the divinity of kingship,[4] although some laid stress only on the similarity of functions between gods and kings.[5]

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[1] They may be called so in the same sense in which the ancient states of Greece and Rome were said to be republics.

[2] Rājataranginī, VIII, 733; Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP, p. 51 foo-tnote 1.

[3] PV, VIII, 57-58.

[4] Manu, VII, 5; Vishṇu Purāṇa, I, 13-14; Bhāgavat Purāṇa, IV, 13,23; Vāyu Purāṇa, 57, 79.

[5] Nārada Smriti, 17, 26; Markanḍeya Purāṇa, 27, 21; Agni Purāṇa, 228, 16.

However, the divinity of kingship, though exalted in theory, was very much different in practice in India.[6] The person of a pious king was no doubt said to be sacred and sometimes he was deified as a ruler also,[7] but a wicked king was always described to be a devil incarnate.[8] The Hindu thinkers made it crystal clear that the divinity of kingship did not imply that a king was immune from vices, but, on the contrary, he had more pit-falls, and, if he deviates from his 'Dharma' (royal duties), he is doomed to destruction.[9] He, therefore, generally followed the code of conduct as laid down in the sacred texts. This offered him little chance to become absolute or tyrannical, unless, of course, he deliberately chose to be so.

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[6] In European countries king's divinity was proclaimed in theory as well as in practice to uphold his despotic powers and 'for its exercise he was held responsible to God alone; no man on earth may rightfully resist the royal commands, and the only recourse for subjects against an evil king is to pray God that his heart be changed.' The king was supposed to be 'an earthly image of God's majesty, and it was wrong, therefore, to look upon him as a mere man.' "As in God were united all perfection and every virtue, so all the power of all the individuals in a community is united in the person of the king."
(cited by Hayes : Political and Cultural History of Europe, Vol. I, P. 291.)

[7] Jayānaka describes Prithvīrāja III as an incarnation of god Rāma who is said to have come to this world in his person to complete his unfulfilled task. (PV, VIII, 35 and XI, 26-104).

[8] Śukra, I, 87. Nārada is the only writer who held him God incarnate on this earth. (Nārada : 18, 31.)

[9] Manu, VII, 28 and 45.

Thus, it was practically the rule of the law, and not the rule of the king, that was supreme in the land. But this does not mean, at the same time, that the king was rendered absolutely helpless in the exercise of his powers. He was at the helm of affairs in the administration of the state and, by virtue of his high position as well as personal prestige, he left behind an indelible mark of his genius-constructive or otherwise, on the entire machinery of the government.

The dismemberment of Harshavardhana's empire in the middle of the 7th century A. D. brought in its train confusion and chaos for a time and there ceased to be a strong central government worth the name which could exercise sway over the country and keep under check the petty chieftains. This greatly strengthened the class of military aristocracy which lay scattered in the country. In due course, however, the Pratīhāras of Ujjain, who were one of them, succeeded in establishing an imperial rule at Kanauj by subjugating or overawing the rest of them. But, with the decline of the Pratīhāras, the military aristocracy of the land, which was not all wiped out of existence, raised its head once again and played an important part in the subsequent history of the country. They established in northern India various hereditary monarchical states which were more or less despotic in character like that of the imperial Pratīhāras of Kanauj. In theory, the Chāhamāna state of Sāmbhar and Ajmer was one of this type of states, and, with the lapse of time, it grew from strength to strength and ultimately rose to be one of the most powerful states in the country.

The Seven Constituents of the State.

The Chāhamāna state, like any other state in ancient India, was recognized to be an organic unity and none of the traditional seven constituents had fallen in disuse during our period. The king, ministers, territory, army, treasury, fort and allies constituted the state and each of them was racognized to be an important part of the body politic. The king was the fountain head of the entire machinery of the state and in its administration he was assisted by his councillors called 'Mantrins'. There was the territory to rule over, which gradually expanded through conquests and annexations. Kings maintained a huge standing army of professional fighters for purposes of offence and defence and its number was further increased by the addition of feudal forces. The importance of treasury can be hardly denied ; it was essential for the maintenance of the army and the running of administration of the state. Forts were a source of strength and were well-maintained and garrisoned in different strategic centres of the kingdom. Alliances were, however, short-lived, for aggressive warfare was the common-feature of the age ; and the Chāhamāna kings failed to procure reliable allies to their side, especially at a time when the country was threatened with an immediate danger from the north-west. It was indeed a misfortune that, while Prithvīrāja III was engaged in a deadly conflict with the Turks, the kings of Kanauj and Gujrat were content to be silent spectators and the former actually indulged in merry-makings[10] when he heard the news of the defeat of the Chāhamāna king at the hands of the Turks. This lack of a concerted effort and a common policy against a foreign foe was mainly responsible for the destruction of the Hindu kingdoms and the subsequent loss of independence of the whole country.

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[10] SJGM, Vol. II, P. 89.

Disintegrating Elements :—The state was not devoid of disintegrating elements and the feudal military aristocracy was both a source of strength as well as of weakness. It was a double-edged sword which worked both ways. The feudal chiefs maintained their own army and garrisoned their own forts. They enjoyed almost autonomous power within their fiefs and did not hesitate to take recourse to an armed rebellion against their suzerain even on a slightest provocation or pretext. But, as the Chāhamāna kingdom was a rising power till its sudden end in the last decade of the 12th century A. D., these disintegrating tendencies could hardly find an opportunity to raise their ugly head and the feudal nobility was kept well under control.

THE KING

Tne Position of the King :—The king was the head of the state and the centre of all loyalties through which he held the realm together. He had the right to wield sovereignty over his subjects and, even if he grew weak and powerless, he was always to be regarded as 'the symbol of state'.[11] In the words of Śukra, however, he was the very root of the tree of State.[12] He punished the criminal and the evil-doer, but he seems to have had 'no jurisdiction over individual subjects ' as long as they obeyed the law.[13] The various checks and balances[14], imposed on his powers, could not possibly allow him to go beyond the established laws of the land. He had a limited share in the royal treasury which was 'to be fixed with referecne to the income of the state and the position of the monarch and the country.'[15] He was further a co-ordinating spirit in the government and, for his subjects, he always remained the centre of all hopes and reforms. The king remained while his ministers came and went in succession.

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[11] ध्वजमात्रोऽयम् Arth. Book V, Ch. 6, 95, P. 201 (Lahore ed. 1925.)

[12] राज्यवृक्षस्य नृपतिर्मूलम् Śukra, V, 12.

Succession:—King's office was hereditary and the law of primo-geniture was generally followed in the succession of kings. But, in the absence of a son, the next brother of the preceding sovereign ascended the throne.[16] Perhaps this practice was also followed in case of such a minor son as was expected to take a long time in attaining majority, and, when he came of age, he succeeded his uncle to the paternal throne.[17] During the slight minority of the eldest son, however, generally the queen-mother

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13. Jayaswal : Hindu Polity, P. 352 (1943 ed.)
14. infra, pp. 275-76.
15. Jayaswal : Hindu polity, p. 352 (1943 ed.); Arth. Book V, Chap. 3, 91, p. 181 (Lahore ed. 1925).
16. PV, V, 17 and 54.
17. King Chandrarāja was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Gopendrarāja who, in his turn, was followed by Chandrarāja's son Durlabharāja. (PV. V, 15-18). This, perhaps, indicates the very minority of the latter on his father's death.

acted as regent and the son was coronated after the attainment of majority.[18] We have a solitary instance of an impatient and impetuous son also (Jagadeva) who siezed the throne after murdering his father Arṇorāja.[19]

Titles :—Epigraphical evidence reveals that the Chāhamāna sovereigns adopted grandiloquent titles like Samastarājāvalīsamalaṅkrita, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Parameśvara and Mahārājādhirāja etc.[20] while Prithvīrāja III is addressed as Bhārateśvara by his court-poet Jayānaka.[21] Such titles obviously imply his imperial status who, further, had under his control a good number of feudal chiefs who personally adorned his court and paid him homage and tribute.

Abdication :—The ancient practice of abdicating the throne in favour of the eldest son and the reigning sovereign retiring to the forest as a ' Vānaprasthī ', was sometimes followed by kings of religious leanings. King Ajayarāja II (c. 1110-1135 A. D.) is reported to have taken to the life of an ascetic and retired to the forest of the sacred Pushkara after making over the throne to his son Arṇorāja.[22] Similarly, king Jaitrasimha of Raṇastambhapura (Ranthambhore) placed his son

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[18] ibid, IX, 1-67.

[19] ibid, VII, 12.

[20] ASR, Vol. VI, plate XXI; ibid, Vol. XX, plate XXXII, Nos. 9-11; ibid, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-74, Nos. 9-11; EI, Vol. IX, p. 159, No. 4.

[21] P. V., XI, 8.

[22] An unpublished Praśasti of the Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer, now deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. Sharda : Speeches and Writings, pp. 262-63.

Hammīradeva on the throne and himself retired to the Śrī Āśrama-Pattana on the banks of the river Chambal.[23]

Dethronement :—Dethronement appears to have been a very rare thing in the family, although we may conclude from an inscription that Prithvīrāja II dethroned his cousin Amaragāngeya, for he is said to have obtained a victory over the king of Śākambharī by the strength of his arms.[24]

Rights of the King :—The king was the apex of the whole administration and was the centre of all political, military, administrative and judicial powers. He, no doubt, governed with the help and advice of a council of ministers who were his immediate advisers, but the ultimate responsibility of a final decision rested with him.[25] He was an autocrat who exercised almost despotic powers and the representatives of his subjects, or, for the matter of that, the public at large, had hardly any share in the determination ofhis policy in peace and war. He appointed all viceroys, governors and other important civil and military dignitaries who were all responsible to him alone. He personally supervised the central secretariat and the provincial governors and their subordinates worked under his guidance and direction. He also 'distributed titles and favours in recognition of meritorious service or literary and artistic works of distinction '. He sought the advice of his ministers and other high officers in matters of administration and state of emergency and acted according to the established laws and customs of the country. His actions were, more or less, in keeping with the principles of 'Dharma', and he did not generally deviate from the path as laid down by ancient sages. The king was sometimes deified,[26] but this divinity did not invest him with infallibility. He was, however, regarded as an embodiment of grace who bestowed prosperity and happiness on his people in general.

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[23] HM, VIII, 54-57 and 106-108.

[24] JRAS, 1913, p. 276, footnote 2; RMR, 1923, p. 2.

[25] ललित विग्रहराजनाटक, 1A, vol. XX, pp. 201-12; Sharda : speeches and Writings, pp. 263-66.

Obligations :—In India rulership has always been regarded to be the highest of all 'Dharmas' (duties),[27] and the Chāhamāna kings, as such, endeavoured to fulfil their obligations to their subjects in a righteous manner. They maintained peace and order in the realm and brought about plenty and prosperity to the people in general.[28] The king was accessible to all and was ever ready to redress their wrongs.[29] He extended partonage to the learned, gave impetus to art and letters, helped the spread of religion, respected the old traditions and customs and was tolerant to all castes and creeds. He defended the country from foreign invasions and offered protection to the people from hostile incursions of his enemies. In short, he exerted his best to achieve the happiness of his subjects which ultimately meant his own happiness and prosperity.

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[26] Pv, VI, 35.

[27] सर्वधर्मपरं क्षात्रं लोकश्रेष्ठं सनातनम् Jayaswal : Hindu Polity, p. 354 (1943 ed.)

[28] PV, V, 92-191.

[29] Rājataranginī, VI, 44-60.

Various Checks and Balances :—Although the king was practically supreme in the administration of the state, the traditional checks and balances exercised considerable influence on royal despotism. He was not above the law nor could he make or unmake them. The laws were already laid down in scriptures from time immemorial and it was his sacred duty to put them into practice. He had, however, the right of issuing writs or 'Rāja Śāsanas' under circumstances of emergency. The possibility of an armed rebellion in the kingdom worked like a brake on his tyranny and, if he ever tried to become oppressive, the feudal nobility, backed by the people, could defy his authority by an appeal to arms. The ministers of the state, on the other hand, guided him to the right direction by their wise advice and were also expected to control him if he acted against the established laws and customs of the realm. The fear of committing a great sin in this world and the consequent loss of the world hereafter only frightened him to pursue the right path. The sacred laws and old traditions, which had acquired a sanctity on account of their antiquity, were considered in the country more divine than kingship itself and the king, at the time of his coronation, took a solemn vow to abide by them. Public opinion, which was generally conveyed to the king through state officials and spies, was another check which no king could afford to completely ignore and his real salvation lay in the rightful conduct of his kingly duties as laid down in the sacred texts. His power was further curtailed by the decentralization of the administrative machinery of the state through village councils and city corporations which exercised almost autonomous authority in their respective spheres.

These checks and balances were, however, not very effective or efficient in bringing the king completely under control and, if at all he chose to tyrannise or oppress his subjects, nothing could stop him from doing so. But the kings of Ajmer generally followed a wise course in matters of state administration and no where, either in traditions, or in records connected with the family, they are known to have taken recourse to tyranny or oppression.

And, if they overtaxed their subjects, it was rare and only under emergency conditions. The people were fairly happy and contented and apparently no cause was provided to unnecessarily provoke their feelings against their sovereigns.

Daily Routine :—Our knowledge regarding the daily routine of the king is very meagre. But, it appears, he devoted the first quarter of the day in personal purification and morning prayers and devotion to gods and Brāhmaṇas which was certainly an important duty of a Hindu king.[30] In the second quarter he held the 'darbar' and came in state to the royal court which was attended to by all the ministers and high officials of the realm. Here the king transacted the business of the state,[31] heard cases, granted interviews to foreign ambassadors and bestowed gifts on them.[32] Next, the king retired to his picture galleries for enjoyment and relaxation,[33] and, by the noon, he returned to the inner chamber apparently for food and rest. In the afternoon he looked after the state business once again and was also provided with different varieties of entertaining performances like magic and wrestling etc. where the king gave full expression to his love of pleasure and enjoyment.[34] 'At night the assembly hall, illumined by a thousand lamps, was the scene of scholastic discussions, musical performance and dances'.[35] Finally, he retired to the bed chamber where he spent the remaining hours of the night in sleep.

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[30] Manu, VII, 37-38 and 145.

[31] Prithvīrāja Rāso, Samaya XXXI, 1-7.

[32] PV, XI, 8-15 and 24.

FUNCTIONS OF THE KING

Executive :—The king was the supreme authority in all matters concerning the executive. He himself appointed his ministers, ambassadors and all other high functionaries of the state with whose help he carried on the administration of his kingdom.[36] He looked into state finances, collected dues and levied taxes. He also received petitions and sometimes issued orders for the guidance of his subjects.[37] He punished the criminals and introduced administrative reforms for the betterment of the people in general. He granted audience to envoys and gathered information from spies.[38]

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[33] ibid, XI, 24-105.

[34] Hindustani, January, 1940, p. 98.

[35] Rājataranginī, VII, 881-83, 895, 944;
Dr. Beni Prasad : State in Ancient India, p. 428.

[36] Manu, VII, 54-68.

[37] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 43-46 and 304-11.

[38] IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-12; Sharda : Speeches and Writings, pp. 264-65.

Military :—It was one of the most important duties of a king in India to lead his army in the field of battle and almost all the important campaigns were invariably conducted by the Chāhamāna kings in person. The king was usually in the van where he set an example of personal valour and gave encouragement to his men-in-arms. He often mounted an elephant and fought with his bow and arrows, but sometimes he rode a horse as well.[39] The presence of the king was so important on the battlefield that his disappearance, death or flight almost always led to defeat and running away of his soldiers. He also appointed all the military chiefs to their respective posts and bestowed prizes or promotion for meritorious services on their part. He also consulted them in important deliberations over plans of offence and defence, but the final decision always vested with the king.[40]

Judicial :—The king was the highest court of appeal[41] and the final authority in all judicial matters rested with him. He heard cases and administered justice according to the rules of law probably in consultation with his ministers and the chief judge.[42] Sometimes he delegated his authority to his councillors as well who were definitely asked to be impartial in their judgment.[43]

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[39] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 295-97.

[40] IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-12; Sharda : Speeches and Writings, pp. 264-65.

[41] Nārada, Introduction, 1, 7 : Brihaspati, 1, 29, Yājñavalkya, II, 30.

[42] Śukra, IV, 5, 5-6.

[43] Hindustani, Jan. 1940, p. 98.

Justice in general was administered in the name of the king.[44]

Other Members of the Royal Family :—The eldest son of the king, who was called Kumāra, Mahākumāra or Mahārājaputra,[45] after having come of age and finished his studies, was appointed to the office of the Crown Prince, and was vested with several administrative powers in the kingdom or governed a part thereof. In case of a king having no son, his younger brother used to act as heir-apparent. The younger sons and brothers, who were designated as Rājaputra or Mahārājaputra,[47] were usually appointed as provincial governors or were put in the charge of important military outposts.[48] They were sometimes granted Jagirs for their maintenance.[49] Queens and princesses do not seem to have taken any active share in the government, though queen Somaladevī is a solitary instance who struck coins after her own name during the reign of king Ajayarāja II.[50] Dowager queens, however, assumed the reins of administration, while acting as regent, during the minority of the heir-apparent.[51]

The Council of Ministers :—The king carried on the administration of his kingdom in consultation and cooperation with his ministers who formed his council and were his immediate advisers. This was the backbone of Hindu constitution. All the law-givers are unanimous on this point and have laid a great stress on the merit and importance of such a council.[52] Śukra, however, goes a step further when he says that, when the sovereign becomes independent (of his council), he plans for ruin. In time he loses the state and loses the subjects.[53]

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[44] Jayaswal : Hindu Polity, p. 326 (1943 ed.).

[45] EI, Vol. IX, p. 67; ibid. Vol. XI, p. 44; ibid, Vol. XII p. 222.

[46] ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 67-69; ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 30-32 and 33-34.

[47] ibid, Vol. IX, p. 67; JASB, 1916, (N.S.) pp. 103-04.

[48] ibid, 1916 (N.S.) pp. 103-04; SJGM, Vol. II, p. 86.

[49] JASB, 1914, (N.S.) pp. 406-07.

[50] IA, 1912, pp. 209-11; PV. V. 90.

[51] ibid, IX, 1.

The importance of this council of ministers was never lost sight of by the Chāhamāna kings and the use of the term Mahāmātyaih in the Prithvīrāja Vijaya indicates the existence of a council of ministers at the Chāhamāna court.[54] This is further borne out by a verse in the Viruddha Vidhi Vidhvanśa of Laskhīdhara, which tells us that 'Prithvīrāja (III) gave them (Vāmana and Skanda) with delight the posts of the chief councillors'[55] This council, as a body, had a considerable share in shaping the general policy of the state in almost all the important matters,[56] but sometimes the king consulted his ministers individually as well.[57] During the deliberations the decision of the majority of ministers seems to have prevailed, though this decision must have been greatly influenced

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52. Manu, VII, 30-31 and 54-57; Yājñavalkya, Book I, 311; Arth. Book I, Ch. 15, 11, 63-64, p. 53 (Lahore ed.); Śukra, II, 2-4; Vīramitrodaya, p. 12.
53. Śukra, II, 4.
54. PV, VIII, 58.
55. सर्वामात्यपदं, verse 9; IHQ, September 1940; Vol. XVI, p. 570.
56. Prithvīrāja Rāso, Samaya XXXI, 1-7.
57. Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 265.

either by the king himself or the chief minister or some other important member of the council. The king was, however, not bound to act as advised by them and, in some cases, a king either exercised his own discretion or was encouraged by some one of his ministers 'to act according to his own views.'[58] But this appears to have been an exception where the king was a very strong person. Generally the council wielded a great authority and their wishes and advice could not possibly be ignored by the king. The council sometimes decided the points of succession also and we learn from the Prithvīrāja Vijaya that it was the council of ministers which brought prince Someśvara from the court of Gujrat, where he had been residing since his early childhood, and put him on the throne when it fell vacant after the death of Prvithīrāja II.[59] Daṇḍanāyaka Skanda, one of the chief councillors of Prithvīrāja III, is also said to have placed Prince Harirāja over the kingdom of Śākambharī.[60] An inscriptional evidence further reveals that perhaps the presence of all the ministers was essential when the king made some important announcements.[61]

Its Composition and Functions :—The chief councillors or the ministers of the king are referred to by the terms Mahāmātya or Mahāsachiva[62] and Mantrins.[63] Although the earlier records-epigraphic as well as literary-are completely silent about the exact strength of the ministry or the council, we learn from the Hammīra Mahākāvya that the Mantri-Parishad was composed of the traditional eight ministers.[64] It is quite likely that the same number was maintained even in earlier times. Of these, the most important was apparently the Mahāmantrī or the Chief Minister and, during the reign of Vigraharāja IV, this post was held first by Śrīdhara[65] and, later on, by the Rājaputra Śrī Sallakshaṇapāla,[66] while Mahāmanḍaleśvara Kadambavāsa served under Prithvīraja III in the same capacity.[67] Other chief councillors, who are often referred to, were the Sāndhivigrahikāmātya (Foreign Minister) and the Senādhipati or Mahādanḍanāyaka (Commander-in-Chief of the army).[68] The Mahākshapaṭalika (Revenue Minister) also appears to have been one of them. The Yuvarāja[69] (Crown Prince) and the Purohita[70] (High Priest) held very high positions in the state and hence they might have been included in the ministry.

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[58] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 265; Manu, VII, 57.

[59] PV, VIII, 57-58.

[60] IHQ, September, 1940, Vol. XVI, p. 571, Verse 24.

[61] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 305 and 310, Lines 14-16.

[62] PV, VIII, 58, also the commentary by Jonarāja.

[63] IA, Vol, XIX, p. 216; Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 265.

The exact nature of the different port-folios, held by these ministers, is far from certain, though we may

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64. HM, X, 33-34. NPP, Vol. XIII (now ed.) part III, pp. 297-98.
65. Sharda : Speeches and writings, p. 265; IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-12.
66. IA, Vol. XIX, p. 216.
67. PV, XI, 3-5 and 14; Hindustani, Jan, 1940, p. 97.
68. IHQ, September, 1940, Vol. XVI, pp. 570-71, verses 6-12. EI, Vol. XI, p. 44.
69. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 30, 34 and 60.
70. IHQ, September, 1940, Vol. XVI, p. 569.

safely assume that the foreign, military, revenue, police, ecclesiastical, land, trade and commerce and such other departments might have been placed in the charge of different ministers. They belonged to the noble families of the state and were chosen from amongst the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas according to their qualifications. The Chief Minister of Prithvīrāja III, named Kadambavāsa, was a Kshatriya of the Dāhimā clan,[71] while the Sāndhivigrahikāmātya Vāmana and the Senādhipati Skanda were Nāgara Brāhmaṇas.[72] The post of the Purohita was always occupied by a Brāhmaṇa. The appointment of these ministers rested entirely with the king who could remove or replace any one of them whenever he liked or was displeased with him.

Their posts were often hereditary and Skanda, the Sāndhivigrahikāmātya under king Someśvara, was succeeded to this post by his son Soḍha who, in his own turn, was followed by his son Vāmana while his next son Skanda was appointed as the Senādhipati or Mahādaṇḍanāyaka by Prithvīrāja III.[73] Sometimes the same minister continued in different reigns and one Padmanābha, a minister of Vigraharāja IV, held his post even during the reign of Prithvīrāja III.[74]

The most important qualification for the appointment of ministers, probably with the exception of the Purohita, was their sound knowledge of military science and a thorough skill in the use of arms, for they were expected to conduct military campaigns and accompany the king during a war. Their participation in important deliberations of state policy further indicates their thorough grounding and ripe experience in political science and state-craft. They were versed in other sciences also and had acquired proficiency in different branches of learning.[75] The ministers were held in high esteem by the king and Sometimes a minister was honoured by him for his intelligent guidance and successful operation of a particular plan or scheme. But certainly the advice of the council was not binding on the king and, if he preferred to exercise his own discretion, he was at perfect liberty to do so.[76]

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[71] SJGM, Vol. II, p. 86.

[72] IHQ, September, 1940, Vol. XVI, p. 569.

[73] IHQ, September, 1940, Vol. XVI, p. 570-71.

[74] PV, XII, 58.

Organization of the Central Government.

The central government was divided into different departments, each having its own head, though the supreme authority in all matters was always with the king. The central secretariat, which was responsible for the running of the entire machinery of the state, was established at Ajmer, the place of the royal residence, and was known as Śrīkaraṇa.[77] It accommodated all the offices of different minsiters and heads of departments who daily transacted the routine in their respective spheres. Important matters, however, were referred to the whole council which was presided over by the king. The Chief Superintendent of the Śrīkaraṇa was probably called the Akshapaṭalika or the Mahākshapaṭalika,[78] 'who did all the business of the seal relating to the drawing up of documents',[79] and maintained the records. He also conveyed the orders from this office to the provincial and district officers through special messengers.[80]

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[75] Prithvīrāja's ministers Vāmana and Skanda are said to have been well-versed in the Vedas as well. IHQ, Sept. 1940, p. 570.

[76] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 265; IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-12.

[77] EI, Vol. III, p. 206; ibid, Vol. IX, p. 64; ibid, Vol. XI, p. 43

Besides the ministers or the chief councillors, who held important portfolios in the centre, there were many more administrative heads. The Koshādhyaksha held an important post and maintained the account of income and expenditure in the royal treasury. The Mahāsāhaṇiya was the great master of the stable,[81] while the Bhishak was the royal physician who looked after the health of the king and the members of his family and was probably the head of the public health department.[82] The Duḥsādhya or Duḥsādhasādhanika[83] appears to have been the head of the intelligence department. The Pratīhāra, Mahāpratīhāra or the Dauvārika[84] was the royal door-keeper whose post, though important, was apparently not an administrative one. He announced all new arrivals to the king, regulated the court ceremonials and granted 'necessary permits for admission to the royal presence.'

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[78] ibid, Vol. XIV, p. 193; IA, Vol. VI. p. 194.

[79] EI, Vol. XI, p. 43.

[80] Dr. A. S. Altekar, PBSP, p. 138.

[81] EI, Vol. XI, p. 28.

[82] IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 17.

[83] ibid, 1913, p. 60; EI, Vol. XI, p. 305 and 310, line, 14-16.

[84] PV, XI, 6-8; EI, Vol. XI, pp. 38 and 39.

The Naimittika or the court-astrologer, who is mentioned in one of the inscriptions along with the Mahāmantrin,[85] appears to have occupied a high post in the court and it was his duty to inform the king of auspicious moments for his new undertakings in all matters, civil and military.

Feudatories.

The king was the centre of a number of vassal chiefs who were designated by various subordinate titles like the Mahārāja, Mahāsāmanta, Mahāsāmantādhipati, Manḍaleśvara, Mahāmanḍaleśvara and Mahāmānḍalika[86] etc., and were sometimes described as having obtained the Panchamahāśabda.[87] These titles varied according to their status and importance, and the internal autonomy enjoyed by them in the administration of their respective fiefs was dependent on their personal resources and powers.

The feudal nobility invariably made mention of their sovereign[88] in their grants which clearly indicated their conscious recognition of a subordinate rank in the state. They were required to pay tribute and come to the royal court to offer homage and personal attendance to the king at frequent intervals. They generally paid homage to their lord with valuable presents, especially on the succession of their suzerain to the throne or the birth of a prince or a marriage performance in the royal family.[89] On their own succession, however, they were obliged to pay something more to the state treasury, probably as a fee, for their entry into legal possession of their inheritance.[90] Beisdes financial obligations, the chief duty of a feudatory prince was to render military service to his suzerain.[91] He had to furnish the king his fixed quota of horse and footmen for ordinary public service as well as for his military campaigns either against rebels and political rivals in the country or against foreigners. Very often they accompanied thier kings in their distant wars as well.[92]

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[85] IA, Vol. XIX, p. 216.

[86] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 32, 43, 53 and 310; ibid, Vol. XII, p. 198.
pp. 85 and 302.
JRASB, Vol. XII (N. S.) pp. 92-93; IHQ. Dec. 1935, p. 780,
Hindustani, Jan. 1940, p. 98.

[87] EI, Vol. XII, p. 198.

[88] ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 32 and 43; ibid, Vol. XII, p. 56.

Disobedience to a lawful summons or refusal to do homage on the part of a feudatory meant sequestration of his lands. Generally, a compromise or reconciliation in such cases was arrived at, but, at the worst, the estate was only made over to another near kinsman of the outlaw.[93] An estate was seldom confiscated outright and annexed to the empire by the suzerain.[94]

Provincial Administration.

The whole kingdom was divided into a number of units for the purpose of administrative convenience. Of these, the most important was the home territory which was directly administered by the king himself. The

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89. EI, Vol. XII, p. 198.
90. Lyall : Asiatic Studies, (1882 ed.), p. 208.
91. ibid ; Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP. p. 225.
92. PV, V. 20.
93. EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.
94. Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP, p. 228.

newly acquired kingdom of Delhi was an equally important unit. It was put under the charge of a viceroy belonging to the royal family and, during the reign of Prithīvirāja III, it was ruled by this uncle Kānhadeva.[95] The rest of the empire was divided into a number of provinces which were probably called the Bhuktis.[96] Generally, the princes of the royal family[97] or near kinsmen[98] were appointed to the post of provincial governors, but, sometimes, highly experienced officers of the state were also given this job.[99] The appointment of provincial heads was entirely in the hands of the king and, for their selection, military qualification was essential.[100] They owed allegiance to the king and, in the discharge of their duties, they were directly responsible to him alone.

The provincial governors exercised wide powers. They maintained regular armies at provincial headquarters and were responsible for the maintenance of internal peace and the protection of their territories from external invasion. Administrative policies were, however, laid down by the central authority, though, for lack of communication facilities, they might have been in some way permitted to exercise their own discretion as well; but

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95. supra, pp. 193-94, Footnote 28. The Muslim writers call him Govindrāja or Chāmuṇḍarāja and a brother of Prithvīrāja III (Briggs : T. F., Vol. I. p. 172) which is obviously incorrect, for the latter had only one brother whose name was Harirāja.

96. SJGM, Vol. II, p. 86; EI, Vol. XI, p. 30; JASB, Vol. XII (N. S.) pp. 103-04.

97. ibid; SJGM, Vol. II, p. 86. 98. IA, 1912, p. 17.

99. Dr. A. S. Altekar, PBSP, p. 155.

100. ibid. p. 155.

in no case they could declare war or make peace with a foreign country. They collected government revenue and forwarded it to the central treasury after meeting the administrative requirements in their respective provinces. They had full control over their subordinate officers and, for disobedience, disloyalty or negligence of duty, they sent them to the capital for necessary punishment.[101]

The personal property of the members of the royal family was also called a Bhukti, and the official designation of the proprietors of these Bhuktis was Bhoktri.[102] Sometimes more than one prince held the same Bhukti jointly and the Rājaputras Lakhanapāla and Abhayapāla are known to have been the Bhoktris of Sinanava or Samanaka.[103] Instances of Bhuktis being assigned to queens are also obtained and Jālhaṇadevī, the queen of king Kelhaṇadeva of Nāḍūla, is said to have enjoyed one such Bhuktī.[104] The princes administered their own Bhuktis personally while the queens might have done it through their agents. The personal property of the king was known as Rājakīyabhoga[105] or Svabhoga.[106]

Each Bhukti was divided into a number of Vishayas which were administered by Vishayapatis appointed by the king. In the Harsha stone inscription of king Vigraharāja II (973 A. D.) a good number of such Vishayas have been referred to.[107] Each Vishaya contained almost 700 villages[108] or so and was just like our modern district. Probably the district officers were called Rājya-Chintaka also.[109] The head quarters of the Vishaya was known as Mahāsthāna.[110] The Vishayapati collected government revenues and other cesses and maintained peace and order within his jurisdiction. Police officers like the Chauroddharaṇika and Danḍapāśika worked under him to apprehend the criminals and haul them up before the law courts.[111] Leading persons or important representatives of the Vishaya and towns assisted the district officer in his work of administration.[112]

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[101] Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP, pp. 156-57.

[102] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 49 and 50.

[103] ibid, pp. 49 and 50.

[104] ibid, pp. 51-52.

[105] ibid, p. 47.

[106] IA, 1913, p. 60.

Divisions of the Bhuktis were sometimes known as the 'Padras' also and Jhaṁvara was one of the four Padras in the Māndavyapura Bhukti, while Ghaṇaghaṇaka was another.[113] Every Padra had its own officer and the Jhaṁvara inscription of Gayākarṇadeva Mentions the presence of four representatives from the four Padras of Mānḍavyapura.[114] These Padras appear to have been important units of administration, so much so that even royal princes were put in the charge of them.[115]

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[107] ibid, p. 60.

[108] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 305 and 310; JASB, Vol. XII (N. S.) pp. 103-04.

[109] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, takes this term to mean 'a person looking after the administration of the kingdom.' EI, Vol. XI, p. 53.

[110] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 305 and 310.

[111] Dr. A. S. Altekar, PBSP, p. 160.

[112] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 305 and 310.

[113] JASB, Vol. XII (N. S.) pp. 103-04; ibid, Vol. X, (N. S.), pp. 406-07.

[114] ibid, Vol. XII, (N. S.) pp. 101-02.

The Vishaya was further subdivided into a number of smaller units like the Maṇḍala, Chaurāsī, Dvādaśaka, Grāma and Pallikā. The Maṇḍala[116] was probably the equivalent of a modern Tahsil and comprised nearly a hundred villages or more.[117] The unit Chaurāsī apparently contained 84 villages or nearabout and was named after its chief town. Ratnapura Chaurāsī was one such division with its head-quarters at Ratnapura,[118] and was like a modern Pargana. The Dvādaśaka,[119] as its name suggests, was a group of twelve villages, and we learn from the Nadol plates of the Rājaputra Kīrtipāladeva (1161 A. D.) that the Rājakula Alhaṇadeva and the Kumāra Kelhaṇadeva were pleased to give to the Rājaputra Kīrtipāladeva twelve villages appertaining to Naḍḍulāi.[120] This may be taken to be a Tappa or Taluka of the present day. The smallest unit of administration was the Grāma or village which was in the charge of the village head-man, variously called Mahanta, Mahantaka,

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[115] ibid, Vol. X. (N . S.) pp. 406-07.

[116] The Jalor stone inscription of Samarasimhadeva (1182 A.D.) refers to the Pilvahikā Maṇḍala and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes it to be the district of Pilvahikā. (EI, Vol. XI, p. 53.). Sometimes this term denoted, in its comprehensive sense, the whole kingdom also such as Naḍḍūla Maṇḍala (EI, Vol. XIII, pp. 208-10).

[117] Manu recommends the groups of ten, twenty, hundred and a thousand villages. VII, 115.

[118] Prākrita and Saṁskrita Inscriptions, pp. 205-07.

[119] IA, 1913, p. 60.

[120] EI, Vol. IX, p. 67.

Mahattaka[121] or Paṭṭakila.[122] The towns were called Paṭaka or Pura while the Pallikā was a small village of a few huts.[123]

Local Government.

(*a*) *Municipal Administration*:—The head of the town administration was probably called the Purapāla who was appointed to this post by the central government; but if the town happened to be a fort, it had a Koṭapāla and a garrison as well.[124] The Purapāla was assisted in the administration of the town by a non-official body called Panchakula[125] or Chaukaḍikā,[126] composed entirely of the representatives of the different wards of the town. One of the Nadol inscriptions of the time of king Rāyapāladeva, dated 1141 A. D., is extremely helpful in this respect and gives a vivid picture of the administration of the town of Dhālopa. It runs as follows :

The whole town of Dhālopa was divided into eight different wards called Vāḍa or Pāḍi and each ward sent two representatives to the town council. Incidently, all of them were Brāhmaṇas here. Headed by all the Brāhmaṇas, two from each of the eight wards of the town, and with one of them as the mediator, (Madhyaka)[127], "the whole people of the town tendered a document written (i. e. signed) with their own hands. It contained a solemn promise on their part to find out, in accordance with the custom of the country, by means of the Chaukaḍikā or Panchāyata system, whatever is lost by, or snatched away from, the Bhaṭa, Bhaṭṭaputra, Dauvārika, Karpaṭika, Baṇijjāraka, and others on their way. If it was, however, lost at their own place, i.e., at any particular ward in Dhālopa, the responsible individuāls thereof already named (among the representatives) were to find it out in person. Money, weapons, watchmen and so forth were supplied by the Mahārāja Śrī Rāyapala to them for tracing things lost, and so there was no need of assigning the duties of a watchman to any one amongst them. A declaration was also made to the effect that, if any Brāhmaṇa amongst them, when being asked by the chief (Rāṇaka) to find out some lost property, refused to do so, asked for means of subsistence or fled away, or, if apprehended, had recourse to Kāyāvrata or self-immolation, he would die like a cur, donkey or Chanḍāla, and the chiefs, such as Rājā Śrī Rāyapāla and others, would in no wise be open to blame." [128]

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[121] BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 476-77 and 480-88; Dr. A. S. Altekar, PBSP, p. 169.

[122] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 305 and 310.

[123] IA, 1913, p. 60.

[124] Dr. A. S. Altekar, PBSP, p. 164.

[125] EI, Vol. XI, p. 56; BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 474-77 and 480-86.

[126] EI, Vol. XI, p. 38.

[127] The Madhyaka was probably the President of the town council.

Then follows a list of the names of the individuals who bore witness to the document. Among the witnesses as many as fourteen were the representatives of different temples either in the town or outside the town and the rest were the representatives of the whole class of bankers of Aṇahillapura[129] and possibly those of Dhālopa itself.

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128. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 37-41.

129. The Mahājanas of Aṇahillapura, the capital of Gujrat, are mentioned here probably because of the close commercial relations between the two towns.

In the end we are informed that the record was drawn up with the consent of the people of Dhālopa and was finally approved by all of them.[130]

We are, however, unaware of the method of selection or election of these representatives who were finally confirmed to their posts by the king.[131] From three of the Bhinmal inscriptions[132], it appears that these town representatives continued in their office for more than a year and were eligible for the post in successive terms also. There was an executive council consisting of two or three members, who were known as Vāra or Vārika,[133] chosen from amongst the representatives of the town. Their term of office was also fixed and it varied from one year to two, three or sometimes even more in different places.[134] They collected revenues, maintained an account of public funds and religious endowments, and looked after the works of public interest and general improvement of the town.[135] The municipal or town offce was called Sthāna where all important records were kept and maintained by a secretary called Karaṇika.[136]

(*b*) *Village Administration* :—The village or Grāma was the lowest unit of administration and it enjoyed a considerable amount of autonomy in administrative matters. The headman of the village, called Mahanta[137] or Paṭṭakila,[138] was appointed to this post by the central government to look after the administration of the village. His post was hereditary ; but if he was proved to be thoroughly incompetent in discharging his duties, some other member of the same family was put in his place by the king.[139] This post appears to have been a very important one, so much so that before any grant of land was made, the king often consulted the headman of the village.[140] His primary duty was the protection of the village and the collection of government revenue with the assistance of the Grāma Panchakula or the village executive. For his services to the State he was granted by the king some land in the village, which was free from government revenue.[141]

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[130] EI, Vol. XI, p. 39.

[131] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 56 and 58.

[132] ibid, pp. 55-57; BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 476-77 and 480-81.

[133] ibid, p. 43; EI, Vol. I, pp. 173-79.

[134] ibid, pp. 173-79; BG, Vol. I, part I, p. 43; Dr. A. S. Altekar, PBSP, p. 165.

[135] ibid, p. 165; BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 474-77 and 481-84.

[136] EI, Vol. I, pp. 173-79.

He was, however, assisted in the task of village administration by the Grāma Sabhā or the village council for whose membership all the village elders were eligible. It was an entirely non-official body which met at least once a year either in the courtyard of the village temple or under the shade of a banyan tree.[142] The scope of the work of the village council was fairly wide and it took a keen interest in the social, religious, cultural and political life of the village. Kingdoms rose and fell but the village council continued unaffected and uninfluenced by any political upheaval in the country. Its main source of income was the fines imposed by it on the people of the village for their crimes.

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[137] ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 56 and 58; BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 476 ff.

[138] EI, Vol. XI, p. 310, line. 15.

[139] Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP, p. 169.

[140] EI, Vol, II, pp. 359-61.

[141] Dr. A. S. Altekar, PBSP, p. 170.

[142] ibid, pp. 171 and 183.

But the Grāma Sabhā was a bulky body with huge membership and could not be called off and on to look after the routine business of administration. This task was, therefore, entrusted to the village executive which was called the Grāma Panchakula.[143] It consisted of five members who were all elected by the Grāma Sabhā and were finally confirmed to their posts by the king to exercise local authority in the village.[144] The village headman was the ex-officio president of the Panchakula. The importance of this executive can be judged by the fact that even members of the royal family issued their grants in the presence of the Grāma Panchakula.[145] One of the Bhinmal inscriptions seems to suggest that the term of their office was fixed and, at the expiry of that period, a new executive was formed to take its place.[146]

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143. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 49-50.

144. According to the epigraphic evidence the king appointed the members of the Panchakula to their posts (E. I., Vol. XI, pp. 56 and 58; BG, Vol. I, patr I, pp. 480-88). If it was so, they would cease to be the representatives of the village and would be directly responsible to the king. It appears likely, therefore, that the king had directly no hand in their appointment; he simply confirmed their election to this post by the village council in order to give them a legal status and power.

145. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 49-50.

146. यस्मात्पंचकुल : सर्वों मन्तव्य इति सर्वदा। तस्य तस्य तदा श्रेयो यस्य यस्य यदा पदम् ॥ BG. Vol. I, part I, p. 480; Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP, p. 177.

The Panchakula assisted the village headman in the collection of government revenue and other dues. Besides, it built and maintained schools, rest houses and temples, dug ponds and wells, and raised subscriptions for the works of public interest and utility in the village. The religious endowments and public trusts were also in their charge and they sometimes arranged various shows for the recreation of the villagers. They were further empowered to decide all kinds of civil and minor criminal cases and their decisions were generally accepted by the king.[147] The village secretary, who held a permanent post and was probably called Karaṇika or Kāyastha, kept all the records and other important papers in the office of the village, known as Grāmaśrīkaraṇa.[148]

Sometimes, when a religious benefaction was made by some one of the village for his spiritual merit, a sub-committee, consisting of the Vyāsas, Abotis,[149] Śreshṭhis and members of the Goshṭhī, was formed and conjured to look after that arrangement.[150] In the absence of such committees, the Selahasta, probably a revenue officer, was requested to look after the matter.[151]

Finance or Revenue Administration

The Koshabala was considered to be an important constituent of the state in ancient India and, consequently, the law-givers of the land have made various Provisions for the enrichment of the royal treasury. As a matter of fact the expansion and stability of a state can be achieved only through solid financial background and no king, worth the name, could afford to neglect it without serious consequences to the state and to his own position in the country. But it did not mean at the same time that a king should be tortuous in exacting money from his subjects. The end of the state was to make the country happy and prosperous and this could be achieved through moderation in the matter of taxation and encouragement to trade and industry.

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[147] ibid, p. 185; BG. Vol. I, part I, pp. 474-77 and 480-84.

[148] EI, Vol. XI, p. 58.

[149] They are inferior class of Brāhmaṇas who are generally temple servants. EI, Vol. XI, p. 39.

[150] ibid, p. 56.

[151] ibid, p. 58.

Sources of Government Revenue :—The Rājabhāga or the king's share in the land produce was the main source of income to the state. This was probably called Bhāgakara or simply Kara or Udranga[152] which varied according to the quality of land from one-twelfth to one-third of the produce.[153] The general practice in vogue appears to have been to realise only one-sixth of the gross produce and it was perhaps on account of this that the revenue collectors were commonly called the Shashṭhādhikrita.[154] The enforcement of the higher rates of revenue, however, must have been not on the gross produce but on the net profit.[155] Uparikara[156] was probably 'a tax levied on cultivators who had no proprietary rights on soil.' The land revenue was realised in kind and in different places

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152. EI, Vol. XII, p. 204.
153. Manu, VIII, 130; Gautam, 10, 24, 27; Arth. 5. 2.
154. Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP, p. 195.
155. Śukra, 4, 2, 115.
156. EI, Vol. XII, p. 204.

royal granaries (Koshṭhakas)[157] were maintained for the storing up and disposing of the corn under the Dhānyādhyaksha,[158] Bhāṇḍāgārika[159] or the Bhāṇḍāgārādhikrita.[160] The land revenue was payable in cash as well, but this does not seem to have been the common practice. The minor revenue officers of the state were known as the Selahastas.[161]

Industry and commerce were the next item of state revenue. Taxes were levied on the sale, purchase and profit of merchandise and manufactured goods in lieu of the manifold facilities and protection offered to various trade and industries by the state. The Smritis and other law books provide for the realization of taxes in kind which is amply borne out by inscriptional evidence. The Śaulkika charged state duties on goods from every incoming or outgoing caravan (Sārthaushṭra) or bullocks, on the gates of the towns, called Śulka-maṇḍapika (customs house),[162] or in village markets. The income derived from these loads was called Abhavya.[163] The defaulters, however, had to pay it in cash and this cess (Lāga) obtained the approval of all the local bankers.[164] The kingdom was rich in salt and the Sambhar lake must have been a source of great income to the state.[165] The grants of taxes to temples on oil machines and machine-wells indicates the state share on them.[166] The dealers in horses from the north received due encouragement in their trade by the state and paid certain taxes to the government.[167] It appears that animal fairs were also arranged by the state which derived considerable income from their sale and purchase.[168]

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[157] IA, 1912, p. 17, verse 6.

[158] Śukra, 4, 2, 26-29 and 117 and 120.

[159] SJGM, Vol. II, p. 102.

[160] EI, Vol. XIX, p. 107.

[161] ibid, Vol. XI, p. 58; BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 480 and 485.

[162] EI, Vol. XI, p. 59, 36, 42; ibid, Vol. IX, p. 63.

[163] ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 36 and 58; BG, Vol. . I, part I. pp. 480 and 485.

[164] EI Vol. XI, p. 59.

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The kingdom abounded in forests and forest produce, and their ownership was claimed by the State. They were either let out or sold by the government, and whenever any transferance of forests was made, lesser officers, called Chāṭa, were informed of it through royal grants so that they might perform their duties accordingly.[169]

War tributes and plunders of enemy's land, presents and gifts by the rich and the nobles, annual tributes from the feudatories, and fines imposed for guilt by law-courts or levied on those transgressing royal orders, must have been important sources of income to the government. The Law sanctioned the imposition of extra taxes during emergencies like the state of war and etc., and the state might have, though not frequently, taken recourse to this as well.

Expenditure :—It is difficult to know the precise nature of the budget which was prepared and adhered to in the Chāhamāna state of Ajmer, for the Smritis, law books and inscriptions are almost silent about the items of expenditure. Śukra, however, is the only writer who furnishes us with some details with reagrd to this. According to him fifty percent of the state revenue was to be spent on army (Balam) alone, while the departments of Charities (Dānam) and Public works (Prakritayaḥ) combined claimed one-sixth of it. To the head Administration (Adhikāriṇah) was allotted one-twelfth of the income and the same amount was set apart for the Civil List (Ātmabhoga) as well. The remainder one-sixth was kept as Reserve Fund or Kosha.[170]

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[165] IA, 1913, p. 60; PV, V, 1-5.

[166] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 28, 35, 41 and 49.

[167] ibid, p. 32; IA, 1913, p. 60.

[168] EI, Vol. XI, p. 32.

[169] EI, Vol. X. pp. 44-48.

How far the kings followed these details is far from certain. But even though their own items of expenditure were not in strict confirmity with Śukra, they must have been somewhere near about them. The kings of Ajmer were engaged in constant warfare with their neighbours and consequently military expenditure must have been of supreme importance to them. It is, therefore, not improbable that they spent nearly half of the state income on army alone.

The claims of Charities and of works of public utility came immediately after this. Inscriptions throw a flood of light on the keenness and interest shown by the Chāhamāna kings in this sphere. They built hundreds of temples, tanks and lakes in the capital and in other parts of the kingdom[171] and maintained them well with liberal grants of land[172] as well as parts of the state revenue.[173] These temples, together with schools and colleges founded by kings,[174] helped the cause of education in the kingdom considerably. Grants of villages to Brāhamaṇas had also the same end in view.[175] Men of learning adorned the royal court and kings rewarded them richly in true appreciation of their merit and services in the domain of letters.[176] They did not lose sight of works of piety as well and granted funds and remissions in taxes for the same.[177] Alms-houses were established in different centres of the empire to distribute charity to the poor and the needy.[178] Patronage to art and architecture further engaged their attention and they founded many towns which were adorned with beautiful buildings.[179] It appears, therefore, that the actual expenditure under these heads was even more than what was allotted by Śukra, and, over and above, local bodies spent or utilized freely a portion of the state revenue in this very direction.[180]

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[170] Śukra, 1, 316-17; ibid, 4, 7, 24-28.

[171] PV, VI, 21-28; VIII, 63-71; IX, 3-33; Sharda : Ajmer, pp. 60 and 66.

Administrative expenditure formed the next item and state officers were paid their salaries in cash. Sometimes high officials were granted Jagirs also which ultimately tended to make their posts hereditary. The king spent about one-twelfth of the income to meet his personal needs and for the maintenance of his family. The reserve fund was an important head in the royal exchequer and it must have claimed about one-sixth of the whole income. It was touched only in grave emergencies like war, famine or flood.

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[172] IA, 1913, p. 60; EI, Vol. IX, p. 80; ibid, Vol-XI, p. 54.

[173] ibid, Vol. IX, p. 74; ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 28, 32, 36, 42, 47 and 49.

[174] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 256.

[175] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 305-06.

[176] PV., I, 28; Hindustani, January, 1940, pp. 97-98.

[177] EI, Vol. IX, p. 74.

[178] PV, V, 82.

[179] ibid, V, 92-191; VIII, 63-71; IX, 3-33; Sharda: Speeches and Writings, p. 255.

[180] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 28-67.

Judicial Administration.

The Chāhamāna state, like any state in ancient India, was essentially civil in nature and judicial administration was one of its important features. The king personally dispensed justice to his people and sat in the court every morning to hear suits. He was the highest court of justice in the realm and decided all cases with the help of his experienced councillors and wise Brāhmaṇas,[181] and also heard appeals against the decisions of lower courts.[182] The people had immense faith in the wisdom and justice of the king and went back satisfied with his decision. A chain of justice was also set up in, or probably in front of, the royal palace[183] which offered to the people, high and low alike, who were in quest of justice, an easy access to the king.

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[181] Manu, VIII, 1.

[182] We, however, agree here with Shri. C. V. Vaidya in his conclusion that "Hindu judicial system knew no appeals; a person losing his case in the district court might take it before the king and the case was tried 'de novo' if the king thought fit."

[183] तस्य धवलगृहद्वारे न्याय घण्टाऽस्ति SJGM, Vol. II, p. 86.

Sources of Law : The institutes of the Sacred Law were, on account of their sanctity, the main source of law in the land. The local usages[184] came next and it was the duty of the king to 'enquire into the laws of castes, of districts, of guilds, and of families, and (thus) settle the peculiar law of each.'[185] The commentaries, which interpreted the sacred law to suit the altered conditions in society, and the authoritative decisions based on judicial practices and legal treatises had also gathered an equal amount of sanctity about them and, as sources of law, they were as important as the sacred law itself. Moreover, the king had full authority to enact ordinances, or issue injunctions, called Śāsana or Mahāśāsana[186] for the moral and material welfare of his subjects. But apparently he had no right to promulgate new positive laws; and thus the sources of law were almost limited, there being little scope for the formation of new ones. It may be, however, worthwhile to note here that there was no distinction between secular laws, religious injuctions and moral practices. 'All were jumbled together in law books, and an individual was expected to adjust himself to them as best as he could.'

Organization of Judiciary :—There appears to be little difference between civil and criminal proceedings during the period under review and cases of both the classes came under certain heads and were heard and decided probably by the same court.[187] In matters of judicial organization a policy of complete decentralization was practised by kings and the lowest court of justice was the village Panchāyata. It had full powers to decide all civil and minor criminal cases and this, to a great extent, lightened the burden of the law courts established by the state. The next higher court was located in the district head-quarters where the Vishayapati awarded justice with the assistance of his councillors or assessors. It appears major cases of all kinds were decided here and appeals from the lower courts were also heard.[188] The Sāmantas or feudal lords as well as the provincial governors might have had their own courts. But, above them all, was the king, the fountain head and the supreme court of justice in the whole kingdom. In his absence, however, the chief justice or any one of the chief councillors, assisted by three assessors, deputised for him in administering justice to his subjects.[189]

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[184] देशाचार EI, Vol. XI, p. 38.

[185] Manu, VIII, 41.

[186] EI, Vol. IX, p. 67, line 38; ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 43 and 305-06.

Legal Procedure :—We have very little knowledge about the legal procedure adopted in the law courts. Al-Beruni, however, enlightens us to a certain extent on this subject and says : "The plaintiff has to file a statement and his document. If there is no written document, witnesses are produced, at least four being required. Cross-examination of witnesses is not allowed."[190] Hindu Law Books are silent regarding the number of witnesses and, as the parties were not represented by pleaders, the question of cross-examination did not arise. At the time of filing a suit the plaintiff submitted all the necessary particulars concerning the case,[191] and produced witnesses to corroborate his statement. But if the two parties disputed about matters for which no witnesses were available, and the judge was unable to ascertain the truth, he might cause it to be discovered even by an oath.[192] In that case a Brāhmaṇa had to swear by his veracity, a Kshatriya by his chariot or the animal he rides or by his weapons, a Vaiśya by his kine, grain and gold, and a śūdra by (imprecating on his own head the guilt) of all grievous offences (Pātaka).[193]

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[187] Manu, VIII, 3-7.

[188] Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP, p. 148; C. V. Vaidya : HMHI, Vol. III, p. 449.

[189] Manu, VIII, 9-10; Hindustani, January, 1940, p. 98.

The king, with a collected mind, began the trial of causes after having occupied the seat of justice, having covered his body and having worshipped the guardian deities of the world.[194] If he required assistance for the interpretation of the law, he extended this privilege to a Brāhmaṇa.[195]

The witnesses were then examined, but before they gave their statement, they had to swear and were exhorted by the king, or the judge, to give true evidence in the presence of images of gods and of Brāhmaṇas.[196] Thus the dread of punishment in the next world and the august presence of the king went a long way to make a witness truthful. Only house-holders, men with male issue and indigenous (inhabitants of the country, be they) Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, or Śūdras, were held to be competent, when called by a suitor, to give evidence, not any person whatever (their condition may be) except in cases of urgency. A good number of people were prohibited to appear in the witness-box.[197]

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[190] Sachau's Al Beruni, Chapter LXV, p. 158.

[191] Manu, VIII, 31.

[192] Manu, VIII, 109.

[193] ibid, 113.

[194] ibid, 23.

[195] Ibid, 20.

In connection with administering justice the king or the court sometimes made independent enquiries as well, and, on the basis of that enquiry, justice was awarded in the case.[198] But such things might have happened in exceptional cases and it could not be made a rule. In cases of extreme doubt the law-givers have prescribed certain ordeals to find out the truth and Al Beruni bears testimony to it.[199] These ordeals, however, could be seldom taken recourse to.

Punishments :—The nature of the case decided the award of punishments, beginning with rebuke, warning, fine, corporal chastisement, imprisonment, mutilation, exilement to death. The first and light offences were punishable with a rebuke or warning. We learn from Manu that the king should 'punish first by (gentle) admonition, afterwards by (harsh) reproof, thirdly, by fine, after that by corporal chastisement. But when he cannot restrain such (offenders) even by corporal chastisement, then let him apply to them even all the four (modes conjointly).[200] Generally, in all the civil and criminal cases the losing party was punished with fines. These punishments varied according to the status of the man and, whereas the people in general were threatened with capital punishment for the violation of royal orders, the Brāhmaṇas, the priests, the ministers and such others were simply fined five Dramma for the same crime and if the sinner was one, attached to the king, he was to be fined one Dramma only.[201]

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[196] ibid, 79-87.

[197] ibid, 62-77.

[198] Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 162-67.

[199] Manu, VIII, 114-16;
Vaidya : HMHI, Vol. III, p. 449.

In cases of heinous offences, heavy sentences like imprisonment, mutilation, exilement, or even death could be inflicted upon the accused. Al-Beruni informs us that "Brahmins and Kshatriyas are not punished for murder; but they are expelled from the kingdom after confiscation of property. For theft a Brahmin is blinded and his left hand and right foot are cut off. A Kshatriya, however, is not blinded. The castemen are killed."[202] But even a Brahmaṇa was not immune from capital punishment and, an epigraphical evidence reveals that for non-performance of his duties assigned to him by the king, a Brāhmaṇa would die like a cur, donkey or Chaṇḍāla.[203]

Sentences like mutilation and capital punishment even for not-very-grievous offences positively indicate the severity of the law and its rigorous enforcement. But the extirpation of thieves, robbers and other undesirable elements in society amply justified these steps and their actual operation. This must have further maintained the dignity of law and made the life happy and prosperous throughout the state.

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[200] Manu, VIII, 129-30.

[201] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 43-44.

[202] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 158.

[203] EI, Vol. XI, p. 38.

Military Administration.

The kingdom of Ajmer, surrounded as it was by powerful rival states, kept itself in a state of perpetual readiness in a triangular struggle against the Chaulukyas, the Gāhaḍavālas and the Turks. The kings of Gujrat and Kanauj were not doubt serious rivals of the Chāhamānas in the race for political supremacy in the north, but they could not be apparently as deadly an enemy as the Turks of Ghazni who aimed at complete destruction of the kingdom of Ajmer which proved to be the main obstacle in the way of their mastery over India. Their constant fight against the Indian kings on one side, and the Sultans of Ghazni on the other, necessitated, on the part of the Chāhamāna kings, to maintain a strong and efficient army[204] for purposes of offence and defence alike. It was with the help of this magnificent army that they succeeded in carving out an extensive empire and, by overawing or defeating their political rivals, they secured a position of supremacy in northern India.[205]

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[204] We learn from the Lalita Vigraharāja Nāṭaka of Somadeva, a court-poet of Vigraharaja IV, that his army, which was ready to march against Hammīra, the Turk invader from the north, consisted of a thousand elephants, a hundred thousand horses and a million of men. (Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 264). According to the Gurvāvalī, a Jain composition of the early thirteenth century A. D., Prithvirāja III is reported to have said that his cavalry contained seventy thousand horses (Hindustani, Jan. 1940, p. 97). The Prithvīrāja Prabandhaḥ gives his fighting strength at two

Organization :—The army, being the most important department of the state, claimed special attention from the Chāhamāna kings who appear to have spent about one-half, or at least a major portion, of the state revenue over its organization and equipment.[206] On the basis of utility, efficiency and strength the army was divided into three sections. The first was the standing army or the army proper composed of the regulars, belonging to the professional class of fighters, and maintained entirely on state expenditure. It was the best and the most efficient wing of the whole army. The second was the feudal force which was summoned during an emergencyfrom the feudatories, probably on the basis of their fixed quota. This was naturally

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hundred thousand horses and an elephant corps of five Hundred. (SJGM, Vol. II, p. 86). These statements are further borne out by the testimony of Firishta who informs us that the Chāhamāna army in the battle of Tarain comprised, besides infantry, two hundred thousand horses and three thousand elephants (Briggs : TF, Vol. I, p. 171.)

[205] Prithvīrāja III is himself reported to have said that he was the most powerful king of his time (Gurvāvalī by Jinapalādhyāya; also Hindustani, Jan. 1940. p. 97) and the Prithvīrāja Vijaya actually calls him Bhārateśvara, the lord paramount of India (PV. XI, 8.).

[206] supra, p 301.

a not-very reliable force on account of two main reasons—firstly, its direct loyalty was to its lord and not to the king, and, secondly, these quotas were generally composed of the irregulars who could not be very good in the art of fighting. The third and the least efficient wing was that of the irregulars who were recruited in the army when the kingdom was threatened with an immediate invasion from outside. This corps of irregulars had no fighting tradition and no training to its credit and was often a source of danger, especially when the battle was raging in all its fury, and, unable to sustain the onslaught of the enemy, they easily took to their heels, leaving the rest either to die or to follow them in their flight.

Fortification :—Fortification formed an equally important part of military organization and no king could possibly afford to neglect them. In different military centres of the empire strong forts were built, mainly on hills, and were well-watched and garrisoned probably under Koṭapālas. Forts were also built and maintained in many of the provincial and district headquarters. But the strongest of them all was the renowned fortress of Tārāgarh in Ajmer, "2855 feet above sea-level and almost 1300 above the plain". It maintained its reputation for strength and strategic importance,[207] and defied the might of conquerors many a time in its long history. Next in importance came the frontier forts and, one of them, the famous

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[207] Mr. Heber is of the opinion that it could, with very little European skill, be made a second Gibralter.
Heber's Journal, Vol. II. p. 49.

Āsidurga (modern Hānsi) contained a huge garrison for the protection of the northern frontiers of the empire. It was always governed either by royal princes[208] or by trustworthy relations of the king.[209]

Composition :—Out of the traditional four divisions of the Padāti (infantry), Aśva (cavalry), Hasti (elephant) and Ratha (Chariot), the last seemed to have fallen in disuse for purposes of war during this period[210] and consequently the Chāhamāna army consisted of mainly three corps—infantry, cavalry and elephant. The special features of the cavalry were its swiftness and speed while the elephant corps was noted for its physical strength and art of fighting. To this branch of the army the kings appear to have paid a greater attention and, in the thick of fight, the king generally rode an elephant.[211] The maintenance of a fleet was out of question in a land-locked country like Ajmer. The organization of Transport and commissariat, however, was no less important, and camel and oxen were used for the purpose.[212] We learn from the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi that, once, while the Chāhamāna army was on the march, the officer that presided over the

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208. SJGM, Vol. II, p. 86.
209. I. A. 1912, p. 17.
210. Chariots, however, were maintained, for we do find references to them in the inscriptions (EI, Vol. XI, p. 310) and the literature of the age (PV, X, 19-20); but they were used probably on ceremonial occasions only and not in battles.
211. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 297; Kumārapāla Charita, Indtroduction, pp. xi-xii.
212. JRAS, 1913, p. 279.

kitchen, said to Prithvīrāja III, "It will not be easy for even seven hundred she-camels to carry the kitchen service, so Your Majesty should furnish me with a few more she-camels."[213]

The spies and the ambulance corps must have had their proper place in the army, and, while the former supplied information from the enemy's camp,[214] the latter proved its utility in the field of battle by removing the dead and the wounded and nursing the latter in place of safety and protection.[215] There might have been a corps of sappers and miners as well whose duty it was to pitch the tents, repair the roads, construct the bridges and dig the wells during the march of the army.[216]

Units and Gradations :—There was no fixed gradation in the army as it is found to-day and either the favour of the king or the personal valour of the soldier or officer in battles decided his promotion to a higher rank. The army, however, appears to have been divided on territorial basis into a number of units which were stationed in various centres of the empire. These units were required to deal with any rising in their particular area and were summoned by the king only when there was a major engagement, offensive or defensive, within sight.

Army Personnel :—The highest officer in the army was the commander-in-chief who was known as the

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[213] Tawny: PC, p. 190.

[214] IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-212; Also Sharda : Speeches and writings, pp. 264-65.

[215] Rājataranginī, VIII, 741; Arth. X, Ch. 3.

[216] ibid, X, Chapter 4.

Mahāsenāpati or Senādhipati.[217] Designations like Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Mahābalādhikrita or Senānī were also perhaps meant for the same rank.[218] Among the other high officers were the Senāpatis, Balādhikritas and Balādhipas etc.[219] The chief of the general staff seems to have been called the Mahāvyūhapati[220] whereas the infantry, cavalry and elephant forces were commanded by the Patyadhyaksha, Aśvapati or Mahāśvapati and Hastyadhyaksha respectively.[221]. Mahāsāhaṇīya was the Great Master of the Stable[222] while an ordinary soldier was known as Bhaṭa.[223]

The officers were paid their salaries either in cash or in grants of land on account of their hereditary services to the state. As the regular soldiers generally belonged to the class of professional fighters, it is likely that they too might have been granted land in lieu of their monthly wages. The irregulars were, however, always paid in cash. In case of major victory, prizes from the spoils of war were distributed among the officers and the soldiers alike, and if any one of the officers died in action, his widow and children were often granted villages by the state for their maintenance.[224]

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217. Viruddha Vidhi Vidhvanśa, verśe 9; IHQ, September, 1940, p. 570.
218. ibid, p. 571; HM, IX, 110 and 188.
219. EI, Vol. XI, p. 310, line 15; PV, II, 63-64.
220. Dr. A. S. Altekar, PBSP, p. 141.
221. ibid, p. 141 and footnote 8; Śukra, I, 117-20.
222. EI, Vol. XI, p. 28; Vaisladeva Raso.
223. HM, XI, 23.
224. EI, Vol. XVI, p. 277.

Arsenals and Equipments :—For the equipment of the army numerous state arsenals under the superintendence of the Ayudhāgārādhyaksha were maintained in the capital as well as in various towns of strategic importance in the kingdom. These arsenals produced ammunitions and different kinds of weapons and armours for distribution and use in the army. The soldiers of the regular army were supplied with full equipments of war by the state, whereas the irregulars managed for their own. Among the weapons of war were the swords, spears, lances, axes, daggers and bows and arrows. Shields and armours were also used for defensive purposes.[225]

It was the duty as well as the privilege of the king, as supreme commander of the whole army, to lead his men in the field of battle and he seldom shirked from this high duty. He personally supervised and conducted major operations, and, riding an elephant, he was always in the fore-front. His presence was definitely a source of strength and inspiration to his men-in-arms who were roused to action by his exhortations and applause, but his death or disappearance from their sight was a signal for defeat which meant, not only a complete rout but a disaster of the highest magnitude, especially when the war was fought against the Turks.

Police.

Internal peace indicates the existence of an organized system of police in the kingdom of Ajmer. The state shared the responsibility with local bodies in the administration of police and, as the village happened to be the lowest administrative unit, its headman discharged the duties of the police as well. He secured the services of a volunteer corps in the village, and, with their help and cooperation, he maintained local peace and gave protection to the people from robbers and thieves. If any property was lost or stolen, he had to trace it, or failing which, to pay for it. But, in case the local arrangement was inadequate to meet their requirement, they sought the protection of the state.[226] In towns this task was entrusted to the representatives of different wards and the state provided them with necessary 'money, weapons, watchmen and so forth' for the purpose.[227] But, if inspite of their vigilence a theft was committed, the loss was made good by the state.[228] This system of local responsibility considerably lessened the cases of theft which were certainly few and far between. Moreover, the dread of heavy punishments like mutilation and death[229] must have worked as a deterrent and very few people indeed could have dared to commit theft or robbery.

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[225] Prākrita Paingalam, verse 106, p. 180; IHQ., Sept. 1935, p. 567.

Among the state officers, belonging to this department only the Chaudroddharṇikas and the Daṇḍapāśikas are mentioned in inscriptions.[230] They lived at district headquarters probably and, for the prevention of crimes, they went on patrol duty in different parts of the district. They rooted out robbery and theft, punished the criminals and the undesirables and restored confidence by removing all fears from public mind. It appears, however, that local responsibility in the police administration had resulted in the posting of very few officers of police, for there was little work for them to do. And if the local bodies failed at any time to cope with the situation, they could easily secure the assistance of army units, stationed in that locality, for the maintenance of order and peace.[231]

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[226] Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP, p. 149.

[227] EI, Vol. XI, p. 38.

[228] Dr. A. S. Altekar : PBSP, p. 149.

[229] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 158.

[230] EI, Vol. IX, p. 6; ibid, Vol. XIX, p. 73.

There must have been an Intelligence Department as well whose duty it was to help the police officers in tracing the criminals, robbers and thieves. But, above all, their services must have been utilised by the king himself to collect information from different parts of the empire about the working of the state machinery and gather public opinion regarding the general administration of the state and its high functionaries. Perhaps the Duḥsādhya[232] or the Duḥsādhasādhanika[233] was the officer attached to this corps.

Public Works Department

The chief means of communication in the kingdom of Ajmer was the land and, therefore, there must have been numerous roads joining various fortresses and important towns in the state. Ajmer was obviously linked up by road to Delhi which was like a second capital of the empire. Another road ran through Gujrat to Somanātha, a place of pilgrimage.[234] Although these roads were utilized mainly for the movement of troops, their importance as a means of communication for the purposes of trade and commerce can be hardly denied.

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[231] Dr. A. S. Altekar: PBSP, p. 149, 232; IA, 1913, p. 60.

[233] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 305 and 310. However, for want of any reference to their duties, it is difficult to explain this term. It is possible they might have been officers of the police department.

The Chāhamāna kings were great builders who founded a number of towns[235] and built hundreds of temples and palaces[236] in the capital as well as in other parts of the kingdom. They took keen interest in the works of public utility and offered all possible help and facilities to their subjects for their physical comfort and enjoyment. We learn from the Prithvirāja Vijaya that in Ajmer, the royal residence of the kings, "Baories (stepped wells), wells, lakes and water depots are full of water. People, sitting in Jharokhas enjoy the cool breeze of the Ganges of paradise. The god Varuṇa, afraid of the oceanly fire, has taken shelter here, which is the cause of water being so plentiful, even in the wells on the hill-fort of Ajmer."[237] Similar arrangements must have been made in other towns and places also.

For the promotion of agriculture, which formed the main occupation of the people, a number of tanks and artificial lakes like Ānāsāgara and Vīsalasara were constructed[238] in which water was accumulated during the rains and distributed to the people in their time of need. Hundreds of wells were also dug and machines fitted therein to supply water for irrigation purposes.[239]

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[234] PV, V. 82.

[235] ibid, V. 192, VIII, 63. Sharda : Speeches and Writings, p. 255.

[236] PV, V, 43, 45, 53, 68, 92-191; VI, 26-28; VIII, 63-71.

[237] ibid, V, 92-191.

We have, however, little knowledge of the state activities with regard to public health and hygiene. But, charitable as the kings of this dynasty were, it is reasonable to conclude that they might have paid due attention to this department as well to promote public health. Care might have been taken for the prevention of diseases also, and, as the description of the general appearance of the city of Ajmer by Jayānaka[240] indicates, the sanitation of towns could not have been neglected at all. In villages this work was entrusted to the village council.

The kings gave impetus to learning and education in the state. Vigraharāja IV built in Ajmer the famous temple of learning (Sarasvatī Mandira)[241] which must have attracted a good number of students from different parts of the empire. Liberal grants for the maintenance of temples[212] helped the cause of education a good deal, for these temples were primarily the seats of learning where students gathered to receive free education. The village councils, subsidised by the state, looked after the education of the children in villages.

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[238] Sharda : Ajmer, pp. 60 and 66; PV, VI, 21-25.

[239] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 28.

[240] PV, V, 92-191; JRAS, 1913, p. 273

[241] Sharda : Speeches and Writings, pp. 257-59.

[242] IA, 1913, p. 60; EI, Vol. IX, pp. 74 and 80; ibid, Vol. XI, pp. 35 ff.

Scholars and poets enjoyed state patronage[243] and were a source of inspiration and encouragement to others in obtaining honours and distinction at the royal court.

Epigraphical evidences testify the distribution of alms and charity by the kings in the shape of grants of land and state revenue to Brāhmaṇas, Jain saints and others with a view to securing spiritual merit for themselves.[244] An alms-house for the benefit of pilgrims and others was established by Prithvīrāja I on the road to Somanātha.[215] Sometimes they issued orders with regard to the management of festivals of gods[246] to satisfy the religious requirements of their subjects. They also remitted certain taxes and granted funds for religious endowments.[247] The prosperity of the kingdom of Ajmer, as described by Jayānaka[248], further reveals that the kings took necessary precautions for the removal of calamities like famine and fire etc.

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243. PV, I, 28; Hindustani, Jan. 1940, pp. 97-98.
244. IA, 1913, p. 60; EI, Vol. XI, pp. 35 ff.
245. PV, V, 82.
246. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 26-28.
247. ibid, Vol. IX, p. 74.
248. PV, V, 92-191.

Chapter XII

SOCIETY

UNIFORMITY OF INDIAN SOCIETY.

The social and cultural unity of India was seldom disturbed although she was politically divided into a number of kingdoms from time to time, and, as the Chāhamāna kingdom of Ajmer and Delhi was only a part of the vast country, the composition of society, obtaining in the former, could not be dissimilar to that existing elsewhere in northern India. The society was practically the same throughout the length and breadth of the country and was based on the same foundations called Varṇa and Jāti, and governed almost by the same laws with very minor and insignificant differences here and there in some details. At the very outset, however, it must be borne in mind that the Hindu society had special features of its own and, by its great power of assimilation and absorption, it has enjoyed a unique longevity in the history of the social institutions of the world. True, various foreign peoples such as the Greeks, the Parthians, the Śakas, the Scythians, the Kushans and the Hūṇas, who flooded the country by their invasions many a time, influenced considerably the course of Indian history by their racial virtues and other qualities; but, all the same, they lost their identity in due course and were completely submerged in Indian society, so much so, indeed, that no trace of their separate existence was to be found in India after a few centuries. Thus, although the Hindu society is a mixture of many ethnic elements, all fundamentally different from one another in many respects, it has succeeded in maintaining, to a considerable extent, its continuity and uniformity through all the ages of its long life.

THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

The main basis of the division of the Aryan society was the system of the Varṇas which were four in number, viz., the Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. They were purely occupational in the beginning, but, with the lapse of time, they became firmly rooted in the soil of their birth, and proved to be the very foundation on which the whole fabric of Hindu civilization was built in subsequent ages. But, as time passed, this system decayed and was successfully assailed later on by the Buddhists and the Jains. However, Hindu society recovered from this rude shock after sometime, and, with the revival of Hinduism during the Śunga period and afterwards, the institution of caste made some progress once again and soon became an inseparable part of Hindu society. Hiuen Tsang[1] and Al Beruni refer to the four Varṇas and we learn from the latter that "The Hindus call their castes, 'Varṇa' i. e. colours, and from a genealogical point of view they call them Jātaka (Jāti) i. e., births. These castes are from the beginning only four."[2]

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[1] Beal : Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 82.

Ibn Khurdādba's observations, however, are slightly different from the traditional account, for he mentions seven classes of Hindus : "1st., Sabkupia, among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of other six classes do the men of this class homage, and them only. 2nd., Brahma, who totally abstain from wine and fermented liquors. 3rd., Kataria, who drink not more than three cups of wine; the daughters of the class of Brahma are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahmas take their daughters, 4th., Sudaria, who are by profession husband men. The 5th., Baisura are artificers and domestics. The 6th., Sandalia, who perform menial offices. The 7th., Lahud; their women are fond of adoring themselves, and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill."[3] These observations appear to be quite in keeping with the actual conditions obtaining in the country in the 10th century A. D. The seven classes to which he refers are apparently the ruling classes (Śāsaka or Śāsakīya?), Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Sūdras, Vaiśyas, Chanḍālas and the wandering tribes[4] respectively. Of these, the 1st. and the 3rd. are almost the same with their occupational difference, for the ruling families during this age belonged mainly to the Kshatriya class.

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[2] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, p. 100.

[3] Elliot : Vol. I, pp. 16-17.

[4] The Lahud appear to be the Lubdhakas (?) who formed the lower class among the untouchables.

CASTES.

By the end of the 12th. century A. D. each of the main castes became split into hundreds of subcastes and a feeling of separateness seems to have overtaken them almost completely. The assigning of a lower status to the progeny of a lower class wife appears to have restricted marriages within the same caste.[5] According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar this state of affairs was mainly due to the absolute authority of the Brāhmaṇas 'who enunciated the bold doctrine that none but an issue of Brāhmaṇa parents could become a Brāhmaṇa. Slowly but steadily, the Brāhmaṇas managed to degrade the rest of the society to a state of marked inferiority and subordination.'[6] But other causes also must have helped this mushroom growth of numerous subdivisions whose superiority or otherwise depended on their individual status in society. Thus, the difference of food separated the vegetarians from the non-vegetarians in the same class, while a false notion of superiority in matters of caste as well as occupation and different social customs prevailing in various parts of the country further helped in alienating the people from one another.

THE FOUR VARṆAS.

The Brāhmaṇas :—An important feature of Hindu society during this period was the growth of rigidity in the occupational field, which was more clearly marked among the Brāhmaṇas. Upto the 10th century A. D. the Brāhmaṇas were distinguished by their 'gotra' and 'Śākhā' only, and seldom by the profession they followed,[7] but after two centuries the gotras and śākhās were practically replaced by surnames like Pandita, Dīkshita, Dvivedī, Trivedī, Chaturvedī, Pāṭhaka, Upādhyāya, Avasthika, Tripura, Gauḍa, Nāgara, Ḍenḍavāna, Joshi and Vyāsa etc. which were based either on profession or on places of residence.[8] The Brāhmaṇas began to attach more importance to these surnames which, later on, helped in establishing among them a number of subcastes, almost exclusive of one another in matters of social intercourse. Their main occupations were still studying the Vedas, teaching, sacrificing for themselves, sacrificing for others, giving alms and accepting gifts.[9] They sometimes took to cultivation as well.[10] But those, who were unable to live by their 'lawful occupation', could carry on trade and commerce also. However, certain articles of trade as well as usury appear to have been forbidden to this class.[11] On account of learning and wide experience in administrative affairs they were often entrusted with high and responsible posts in the state like those of ministers and commanders of armies.[12]

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[5] Manu, III, 14-19; Vasishṭha, I, 25-27; Yājñavalkya, Āchārādhyāya.

[6] Majumdar : Ancient Indian History and Culture, p. 566.

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[7] EI, Vol. XII, p. 203.

[8] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 54-55.
Ojha : Madhya Kālīna Bhāratīya Sanskriti, p. 43.

[9] EI, Vol. XI, p. 306 and Vol. XII, p. 203; Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 22 and 37, 54-55 and IV, 11.

[10] षट्कर्म सहितो विप्रः कृषिकर्म चकारयेत् Parāśara, II, 2.

[11] Vasishṭha, I, 22-23 and 40-41.

[12] IHQ, September, 1940, pp. 569-71.

The Kshatriyas :—The Kshatriyas also, besides their two original family divisions, viz., the Solar and the Lunar, appear to have been further divided into two main classes on the basis of their profession and, as is clear from the testimony of Ibn Khurdādba, the one comprised the ruling class while the other consisted of the rest of the community. The former, by virtue of their higher status, enjoyed greater rights and privileges in the state as well as in society, and received homage from the Brāhmaṇas also.[13] They were sometimes 'considered equal to the Brāhmaṇas in all respects', but even if it was not so, " Their degree ", as Al Beruni puts it, "is not much below that of the Brāhmaṇa".[14] Later on, their clans multiplied and, by the end of the 12th. century A. D., there were as many as thirty six clans among them.[15] But these were merely family divisions and, unlike those of the Brāhmaṇas, were not based on their place of residence and had nothing to do with their food and marriage. Consequently, they maintained their social unity and uniformity more than any other class in society. They generally found employment in the army, which happened to be their hereditary occupation, or served as high officials or councillors in the State. They competed with the Brāhmaṇas in the domain of learning also and a number of kings like Vigraharāja IV of Ajmer and Bhoja Paramāra of Malwa enjoyed great reputation as poets and writers of high repute, while the Chāhamāna lady Avantisundarī, the wife of the celebrated poet Rājaśekhara, was a poetess of considerable fame. With regard to their occupation as traders, the Kshatriyas were also not allowed to deal in such articles as were forbidden to the class of Brāhmaṇas.

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[13] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 16.

[14] Sachau, Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, p. 101.

[15] Vīsaladeve Rāso, I, 71 and II, 68; Prithvīrāja Rāso, I, 277-78. p. 54; Kalhaṇa as quoted by Vaidya : HMHI, Vol. II, p. 22, Tod : AAR, Vol. I, pp. 62-92 (1877 ed.).

The Kāyasthas :--The Kāyasthas did not form a separate class of their own in the beginning and, an unpublished stone inscription, found at Kanasava near Kotah (8th. century A. D.) indicates that this word was merely a synonym for Lekhaka (writer).[16] The Kāyasthas worked in state offices as writers or clerks and appear to have been a mixture of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas employed as such.[17] Later on, members of other communities also, who worked as clerks, joined this class. Their occupation welded them into a separte caste which was split, on the basis of their places of residence, into a number of subcastes like the Valabha Kāyastha, the Gauḍa Kāyastha, the Śrīvāstavya, the Māthura and others.[18] The use of the word Naigamānvaya, on the other hand, seems to show that Nigama was only a family name[19] and indicates perhaps the Vaiśya origin of the Nigama section of the Kāyasthas.

Similarly, the Panchakulas also, who exercised local authority on behalf of the government[20] and belonged to the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya castes, seem to have formed a separate class on the basis of their occupation and came to be called the Pancholis later on.

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[16] Noticed in Madhya Kālīna Bhāratīya Sanskriti by Ojha, pp. 47-48.

[17] ibid, p. 48.

[18] EI, Vol. XI, p. 39; IA, Vol. XIX, p. 218.

[19] EI, Vol. IX, p. 68 ; JASB, Vol. LV, Part I, p. 40. BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 480-81.

[20] ibid, pp. 475-76; EI, Vol. XI, p. 49.

The Vaiśyas :—This period further witnessed the formation of various subcastes among the Vaiśyas and a number of families like the Kaṭakavālas, the Poravālas, the Prāgvāṭavanśa and the Karapakavanśa etc.[21] came into existence on the basis of their different food habits or places of residence. Their traditional occupation was trade and commerce; but we do find instances of their rising to the highest posts in the state like those of the high ministers and commanders-in-chief.[22] Those of this class, who adopted Jain or Buddhist religion, had probably given up cultivation altogether to adhere strictly to the principles of non-violence in matters of daily life. Moreover, agriculturist Vaiśyas came into closer association with labouring Śūdras and, in course of time, they also began to be regarded as Śūdras.

The Śūdras :—The Śūdras also divided and subdivided themselves ' into inumerable sections on the basis of not only the province of residence, but also their innumerable employments ; each profession or employment consolidating itself into a subcaste restricting marriage to itself.[23] They were mainly manual labourers and cultivators.

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[21] EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 209 and 219; ibid, Vol. IX, p. 64; ibid, Vol. XI, p. 39; Kīrti-Kaumudī, III, 1; JASB, Vol. LV, part I, p. 40; NPP, Vol. IV, part I. (New ed.) p. 25.

[22] ibid, pp. 25-28; Kīrti-Kaumudī, canto III; Vasanta-Vilāsa, Introduction, pp. vi-viii.

[23] Vaidya : HMHI, Vol. III, p. 378.

The Untouchables :–We learn from Al Beruni that "After the Śūdras, follow the people called Antyaja who render various kinds of services, who are not reckoned among any caste." "There are eight classes of them, who freely intermarry with each other, except the fuller, shoe-maker, and weaver." "These eight guilds are the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver". These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes, but out-side them."[24] He further mentions a still lower class among the untouchables. They included the Hāḍi, Ḍoma, Chanḍāla and Badhatāu who were occupied with dirty work like scavenging or cleaning of the villages[25] and the last of them belonged perhaps to the class of executioners. These observations, although correct from the view-point of their occupations, do not appear to be based on facts in respect of their intermarriage. But, even if it was so in Al Beruni's time, they probably ceased to intermarry from the 12th. century A. D. onward.

RAMIFICATION OF CASTE

Thus by the end of our period the ramification of castes was practically complete and the caste rigidity tied down the people to their own subsections in respect of food and marriage. Consequently, it generated among the people a sense of narrow exclusiveness which seems to have blurred their vision to such an extent that they failed to see beyond a narrow circle to which they were cribbed and confined in all matters of social intercourse. As a matter of fact, these innumerable divisions were highly artificial in nature and were neither conducive to the healthy growth of the Hindu society, nor they could bring any permanent gain to the country as a whole. They rather weakened the bond of social unity and cohesion among the different classes of the people who, for the sake of a particular caste or subcaste, often sacrificed the wider interests of the whole society.

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[24] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, p. 101.

[25] ibid, Vol. I, p. 101;
Ibn Khurdādba also refers, as we have seen above, to the two classes of the untouchables, viz., the Chanḍāla and the Lahud (Lubdhaka ?). Supra, p. 323

But ramification of castes was not without its own advantages. It was largely responsible for the preservation of ancient customs, occupations and traditions of Hindu society. It further helped to generate among the people a strong feeling of aloofness and hatred against all foreigners, especially the Turks, and, whereas powerful nations fell prostrate before the might of the Islamic sword, the Hindus, with their culture and civilization, shrank within the shell of this complicated system which saved them from the forced embrace of Islam. In this connection, the observations of Al Beruni deserve our consideration although he presents an extreme and one-sided view. He says : " All their fanaticism (the Hindu's) is directed against those who do not belong to them, against all foreigners. They call them Mlechchha, i. e., impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, becuase thereby, they think, they would be polluted.

They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner. . . .They are not allowed to receive any body who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them."[26]

However, the Hindus are not wholly to blame for the adoption of such a contemptuous attitude towards the Turks. They beheld with horror and dismay the smashing of their sacred temples and the pollution of the images of their gods at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni. These scenes of carnage and destruction must have filled them with hatred for the whole race of the invaders. In the words of Al Beruni himself, 'Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country.' This and other deeds of Mahmud filled them with 'the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims' and, out of hatred as well as fear, Hindu sciences flew away from the land, they had conquered, to far away places like Kashmir and Banaras etc, 'where our hands cannot yet reach .'[27] Thus, while the Hindu religion and culture and with them all that bore the Hindu stamp, including human value and its sanctity, were in serious jeopardy and danger, it was but natural for the Hindus to adopt a policy of complete isolation and aloofness from Muslims. And, if in comparison with the countries of the invaders, with which they were in direct touch, the Hindus believed that 'There is no country but theirs,

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26. Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, pp. 19-20.
27. ibid, p. 22.

no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs,' they seem to be more than justified and cannot be accused of being 'haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid.'[28]

THE FAMILY.

The family, which is the very foundation of a huge structure, called Hindu society, is one of the oldest institutions of the world. It has maintained its importance and utility in the social life of the country since the time of its origin and, even during the early medieval period, it was a living institution lacking neither in vigour nor in vitality. The family tie was as strong as ever and its different members were bound together by the sweet bonds of love and affection they bore for one another. They grew and prospered, rose and fell, not as individuals acting independently of others, but as component parts of a single unit ; and all their thoughts and actions were guided by the common interests of the family alone, of which they felt proud to be the members.

A family generally consisted of the father and the mother, the brothers and the sisters, the sons and the daughters, the daughters-in-law and the children. The grand father or the father was the head of the family, whose decision in matters of dispute was final and the members obeyed it respecfully. The interests of the weak and the invalid members were equally safe in his hands and he discharged his duties with equity and justice. Other members co-operated with him and played their part honestly and sincerely. This kept the institution going. But, if injustice or dishonesty crept in the family and the members acted selfishly, its happiness was practically ruined. On the whole, 'the home in ancient India was a perfectly human institution. It was a living organism, every part of which was vital and fully conscious of the other parts.'[29]

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[28] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, p. 22.

One of the important aspects of the family was occupational, and the choice of profession was rather instinctive and hereditary. The Brāhmaṇas still kept 'the van in the profession of learning,'[30] while the Vaiśyas carried on uninterruptedly their ancient tradition of trade and commerce.[31] The other Varṇas followed their respective professions of good old days, and,if a Kshatriya did not allow his sword to rust and preferred to die in the field of battle,[32] a Śūdra continued, without any murmur, his noble profession of cultivation and service. Thus the professions were handed down from generation to generation and, for all practical purposes, they had become just like family monopolies. But this was not binding on any one, there being no compulsion in respect of the choice of individual profession, and, if any one wanted to follow a different calling, he was at perfect liberty to do so. Thus, although Skanda was a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa by caste, he was appointed to the post of 'Senādhipati' by king Prithvīrāja III'[33]. Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the high ministers of the Dholaka chief, were Vaiśyas by caste and Jain by religion, but they led the army successfully in the field of battle on more occasions than one.[34]

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[29] Indra : Status of Women in Ancient India, p. 27.

[30] This is amply borne out by an inscriptional evidence of the early 12th. entury A. D. (EI, Vol. XI, pp. 304-13).

[31] Jagāḍu-Charita IV; NPP, Vol. IV, part I (new ed.) pp. 26 and 215-27.

[32] Prithvīrāja Rāso, Mahobā Samaya, pp. 2551 ff.

MARRIAGE

Conception :—Marriage has rightly been regarded as one of the most important and sacred institutions of Hindu society. In India it did not mean the physical unity of the two sexes only, but it was definitely a tie of two souls knit together so hormoniously that the one had practically no separate existence without the other-either physically or spiritually and both stood together as one person in body as well as in soul. The marriage was further awarded a religious sanctity and no person was complete and fit to perform a religious rite unless he was married. It was only in conjunction with his wife that a man could perform his obligations to both religion and society.

Changes :—This institution remained almost the same in all its broad essentials in the different stages of Hindu civilization ; but the customs leading to marriage underwent a momentous change during the period under consideration. Pratiloma marriages had gone out of existence long before this period, but Anuloma marriages were not unknown at least upto the 11th. century

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[33] Viruddha Vidhi Vidhvaśa, verses 9-10; also IHQ, September, 1940, p. 570.

[34] Kīrti Kaumudī, Canto V; also NPP, Vol. IV, part I (new ed.) pp. 31 and 39-41.

A. D.[35] Accordingly, a Brāhmaṇa was allowed to marry a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya girl while a Kshatriya had the privilege of having a Vaiśya girl to wife. The marriage of a Śūdra girl with a man of any of the higher castes was viewed with great disfavour.[36] The poet Rājaśekhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa by caste, married a Chāhamāna lady Avantisundarī.[37] Similarly prince Lakshmaṇa, the founder of the Chāhamāna dynasty at Naḍḍūla, is said to have married a vaiśya girl.[38] The existence of this custom is further borne out by the testimony of Ibn Khurdādba that the Brāhmaṇas could take wives from the Kshatriya class.[39]

After the 11th. century A. D., however, Anuloma marriages also began to lose their charm and emphasis seems to have been laid on marriage within the same caste. Opinion seems to be gathering strong round the old dictum once again that " Lost learning comes back ; when the family is lost all is lost. Even a horse becomes estimable on account of its pedigree ; therefore men marry wives descended from an (unblemished) family."[40] Thus, during this period society was more inclined to give its willing consent to marriage within the caste itself. The reason for the restriction of marriage within the same caste appears to be the increasing caste rigidity as well as the assigning of a lower status to the progeny of lower caste mothers by the Smritis.[41] This fact is amply borne out by the statement of Al Beruni that a child born of such couple belonged, not to the caste of his father, but, to that of his mother.[42] This tendency had begun to take root in society at least as early as the 9th. century A. D., and the sons born of the Kshatriya wife of the Brāhmaṇa Hariśchandra, came to be called Kshatriyas after the caste of their mother.[43] This ultimately led to the general practice of marriage within the same caste and later on the custom of marrying girls of other 'Varṇas' was altogether stopped in society. This may find confirmation in the observations of Al Beruni who records: "In our time, however, the Brāhmaṇas, although it is allowed to them, never marry a woman except one of their own caste."[44]

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[35] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 16; Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, pp. 155-56.

[36] Vasishṭha, I, 25-27; Yājñavalkya, Āchārādhyāya; Manu, III, 14-19.

[37] Rājaśekhara lived at the Pratīhāra court of Kanauj during the early 10th century A. D.

[38] SJGM, Vol. II, p. 102.

[39] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 16.

[40] Vasishṭha, I, 38.

FORMS OF MARRIAGES.

Regarding the traditional eight forms of marriages,[45] as enumerated by ancient law-givers, it is difficult to say as to how many of them were prevalent during this period. Of these, the first four, i.e., the Brāhma, Prajāpatya, Ārsha and Daiva, which were recommended in ancient times for both the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas,[46] seem to have been in vogue during this period also and were perhaps observed by all the four varṇas. An instance of the Brāhma marriage, which appears to be the most popular rite, was the marriage of the Chāhamāna king Vīsaladeva III with the Paramāra princess Rājamatī.[47] The Kshatriya kings sometimes took recourse to Rākshasa form of marriage, also called a Kshātra rite,[48] and a glaring instance of this type is afforded in the abduction and eventual marriage of the Gāhaḍavāla princess Sanyogitā with the Chāhamāna king Prithvīrāja III. Here, however, there is a deviation from the actual rite in so far as the bride was also a willing party.[49] Another instance can be cited of the Rāshṭrakuṭa prince Indra I who is said to have carried away by force a Chālukya princess, Bhavanāgā by name, from her marriage pandal at Kairā.[50] The marriage of the Chāhamāna king Vigraharāja IV with the Tomara princess Desaladevī seems to be a happy mixture of Gāndharva and Brāhma rites, for, before the consent of her parents to the marriage, the Tomara princess appears to have fallen deeply in love with the Chāhamāna king who fully reciprocated it when the message of love was conveyed to him by her confidant named Śaśiprabhā.[51] Regarding the Āsura and Paiśācha rites, the injunction of Manu, that they 'must never be used,'[52] seems to have had its effect and perhaps they went out of existence during this period. Svayamvaras were also held, though very rarely, and restricted to ruling families alone, where the bride chose her husband from amongst the assembled suitors in an open assembly.[53]

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[41] Manu, X, 8-10; Mitāksharā, Śankha and Auśanas as quoted by Dr. Ojha in the history of Rajputana Vol. I, p. 167, footnote 6.

[42] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 156.

[43] JRAS, 1894, pp. 4-9.

[44] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 156.

[45] According to Vasiṣṭha, there were only six marriage rites : Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsha, Gāndharva, Kshātra and Mānusha (I, 28-29).

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[46] Bauḍhāyana, I, 11, 20, 10 : Vishṇu, XXIV, 27.

[47] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 13-73.

[48] Vasishṭha, I. 34.

[49] Prithvīrāja Rāso, Jangama Kathā, LX; Rāso Sāra, p. 241.

[50] EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

CUSTOM OF CHILD MARRIAGE.

It is difficult to ascertain as to when and under what circumstances the custom of child-marriage was introduced in Hindu society. The opinion of the law-givers, that a girl should be given in marriage at an early age,[54] clearly indicates that the tendency towards child-marriage was gaining ground in the social life of the Hindus from an earlier age and, at the time of Al Beruni's visit to India, it was almost an accomplished fact. He observes : " The Hindus marry at a very young age; therefore, the parents arrange the marriage for their sons ".[55] It is further borne out by the Vīsaladeva Rāso where we are told that the Paramāra princess Rājamatī was only twelve years old at the time of her marriage with the Chāhamāna king Vīsaladeva III.[56] However, this custom of marrying at an early age could not have been very popular with all the sections of Hindu society and the selection of a husband by a bride in an open assembly may indicate that girls were sometimes married when they were fairly grown-up and able to select their partner in life. It is generally believed that child-marriage was a device, conceived as a safe-guard against women becoming Buddhist Nuns, and, later on, it grew in popularity as a means of protection to a Hindu girl from being forcibly taken away by the Turks. Whatever be the causes, this evil custom took such a deep root in the soil during the subsequent ages that Hindu society has not been able to free itself from its firm grip even to this day.

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[51] IA, Vol. XX, pp. 204-05.
According to the Mahābhārata the marriage between the willing man and the willing woman is said to be the best among the Kshatriyas. (Ādi Parva, 223-24).

[52] Manu, III, 25.

[53] Prithvīrāja Rāso, pp. 1334-46; EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff. Dvāśraya Kāvya as quoted by Dr. Ojha in the Sirohī Kā Itihāsa pp. 170-71.

[54] Gobhila Grihya Sūtra, III, 4-5; Gautama, XVIII, 21 and 23; Vasishṭha, XVI, 70; Arth. III, 9; Parāśara, VII, 7; Manu, IX, 88 and 94. Medhātithi and Kulluka, however, point out that the verse of Manu (IX, 94) is not intended to lay down a hard and fast rule, but is merely to give instances of suitable age. (Sacred Book of the East, Vol. XXV, p. 344, footnote).

Choice :—The right of choice of a bridegroom, or for the matter of that, of a bride, was invested in most of the cases with the parents. The male members of the family settled the marriage which was formally approved by the female members.[57] The injunction of the law-givers that, on failure of parents to secure a suitable husband for their daughter, she was, after waiting for three years, allowed to choose her own husband ' of equal caste and rank ', and thereby she ' incurred no guilt nor did he whom she wedded,'[58] seems to have been viewed with disfavour in society and might have been very rarely resorted to. Sometimes girls prevailed upon their parents to postpone their marriage '*sine die*' and lived a life of virgin throughout.[59] But such an action must have been taken under extraordinary circumstances only. However, it is in perfect agreement with Manu who provides : " If no appropriate match is available forthwith, then a maiden, though marriageable, should rather stay in her father's house until death than that she should ever be given to a man destitute of good qualities ".[60] When a marriage ceremony was performed under religious rites, it obtained at once a religious sanctity and a social recognition and the married couple were free to enjoy a happy and harmonious life.

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[55] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 154.

[56] Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 7.

[57] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 13-23.

WIDOW REMARRIAGE

According to Smritis, a girl could be married only once.[61] Al Beruni also observes that widows could not be remarried.[62] But this applied perhaps to grown-up and old widows only and Manu provides for the remarriage of girls whose husband died before the consummation of the marriage. Nārada, however, is more generous to the widows of suitable age and considers them justified in remarrying.[63] We are told that Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the high ministers of the Dholaka chief Vīradhavala, were born of a young widow after her remarriage with Aśārāja.[64] However, this custom was not favourably viewed in society and we learn from the Jagāḍu-Charita that, when Jagāḍu was making preparations for the remarriage of his young daughter, two well-dressed elderly widows appeared before him and asked him to find out suitable husbands for them also. Jagāḍu was thereupon filled with shame and dropped the idea of remarriage of his widowed daughter.[65] Men, on the other hand, had the privilege to remarry after the death of their wives,[66] and they made full use of this right which was accorded a religious sanction as well.

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[58] Manu , IX, 90-91; Yājñavalkya, I, 64.

[59] वरजती बाप रखावती ब्याह अंकन-कुंवारी रहती सखी ।
Vīsaladeva Rāso, III, 32.

[60] Manu, IX, 89.

[61] ibid, IX, 47; Yājñavalkya, I, 52.

[62] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 155.

[63] Nārada, XII, 97-101.

SATI.

The practice of Sati or self-immolation was never made obligatory on a widow, though the later law-givers like Śankha and Hārīta applaud the practice 'as the surest way of redeeming the soul of a widow.'[67] The Arab merchant Sulaiman observes : " Sometimes when the corpse of a king is burnt, his wives cast themselves upon the pyre and burn with it; but it is for them to choose whether they will do so, or not."[68] Al Beruni also states, that the widows might either burn themselves on the

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64. Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, as quoted in NPP, Vol. IV, part I (New ed.). p. 38.
65. Jagāḍu Charita, III, 23-27.
64. Manu, V. 158; Śukra, IV, 11, 28-29.
67. Cited by Indra in The Status of Women in Ancient India, p. 143.
68. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 6.

pyre of their dead husband or lead an ascetic life. The widows of kings are usually burnt unless they are old or have sons alive.[69] A Dholpur stone inscription informs us that Kanhulla, the wife of the Chāhamāna prince Mahisharāma, performed 'Sati' after her husband's death.[70] We further learn from the Lohari stone inscription that a certain person, named Jalasala, was accompanied on the funeral pyre by nine of his wives[71] while the Hammīra Mahākāvya informs us that the Chāhamāna king Harirāja was followed by his wives and other members of the royal family on the funeral pyre when he burnt himself alive after his repeated defeat at the hands of Kutb-ud-din.[72]

POLYGAMY

Although monogamy was the general practice followed in the country, polygamy was also prevalent. This indicated perhaps the wealth of the country as well as 'their insatiable desire for progeny,' but this, in no wise, could have been conducive to the happy growth of domestic life. The law-givers gave a definite sanction to this system of plurality of wives[73] which assumed a religious garb in course of time and was quite in vogue not only among the aristocratic classes but even among the common people. The Chāhamāna king Arṇorāja had more than two wives[74] while Prithvīrāja III is said to have married many princesses.[75] We learn from the Lohari stone inscription that a certain person named Jalasala had as many as nine wives.[76]

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[69] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 155.

[70] ZDMG, Vol. XL, pp. 38-42.

[71] Noticed in RMR, 1923, pp. 2-3; ASI, 1906, p. 62.

[72] HM, IV, 1-19.

[73] Manu, III, 12-13; Yājñavalkya, III, 57; Vasishṭha I, 24.

[74] PV, VI, 31-34; SJGM, Vol. II, p. 38.

Polyandry, on the other hand, had disappeared from this country long ago except in the hilly tracts of the north-east and the Punjab where it still lingers on in a restricted form. In this respect the people honoured the following injunction of the Mahābhārata : "It was ordained that a husband can have many wives, but we have never heard that a wife can have many husbands."[77]

DIVORCE

Divorce was tabooed in Hindu society, for a marriage was held to be a sacrament, indissoluble from both social as well as religious points of view. Manu provides for the continuation of mutual fidelity until death and considers it as 'the summary of the highest law for husband and wife.'[78] This is amply borne out by the statement of Al Beruni who informs us that 'Husband and wife can only be separated by death, as they have no divorce.'[79] However, in certain cases like infidelity

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75. Prithvīrāja Rāso, Vivāhasamaya; Rāso Sāra, pp. 238 and 382.
76. Noticed in RMR, 1923, pp. 2-3.
77. When Yudhishṭhira demanded from king Drupada the hands of Draupadī for his five brother, promptly came this reply from Drupada who, afterwards, offered, under very curious circumstances, the hands of his daughter also. (Ādi Parva, 177, 27-28).
78. Manu, IX, 101.
79. Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 154.

and etc., a man deprived his wife of her conjugal rights and one of the queens of king Parithvīrāja II, named Suhabade, who is also khown as Rūṭhī Rānī, seems to have been deprived of such rights by her husband.[80]

SUPERSESSION

A man had the right to supersede his wife by another on grounds of barrenness, giving birth to daughters only, or her quarrelsome nature ; but it was provided that a sick wife, who was kind to her husband and virtuous in conduct, should be superseded only with her own consent.[81] Thus although a wife was not permitted to be disowned, deserted or divorced by law, her lot must have been very miserable in case of supersession by another wife. If a man had more than one wife, only the eldest one, unless she was treated otherwsise, acted as 'the consort in religion' with her husband.

POSITION OF WOMEN

The woman enjoyed equal rights with man in former ages and Āpastamba is all out to honour the fair sex by laying it down that all must make way for a woman when she is treading a path.[82] Manu assigns her the status of the presiding deity in the house and tells us that " Where women are honoured there the gods are pleased, but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields any reward. Where female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; the family, where they are not unhappy, ever prospers."[83] The Mahābhārata and the Yājñavalkya Smriti also sing the same tune in upholding the honour and respectability of the women.[84] As a matter of fact women in ancient India enjoyed great privileges and were rightly held 'as pivots of the entire social organism.' They had noble qualities of head and heart for which they were held in high esteem in society.

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[80] Muhṇot Naiṇsi ki Khyāta, Vol. I, pp. 185-86.

[81] Manu, IX, 81-82.

[82] Āpastamba, II, 5, 11, 7.

But with the lapse of time their rights and privileges began to disappear. Their freedom was curtailed considerably and they were 'progressively becoming subservient to the male sex,' with a position of comparative degradation and inferiority as their common lot. The man demanded from his wife an implicit submission to a set of ideals which virtually amounted to the worship of the husband as god, no matter whether he was devoid of good qualities or destitute of virtues. It was provided that 'unrestricted freedom bestowed on the female sex sometimes led unmarried girls to go astray and married women to become faithless to their husbands'. It was, therefore, with a view to bringing her completely under the control of man that the dictum—'Their fathers protect them in youth, and their sons protect them in age'[85] began to be emphasised more and more and she meekly bowed down to it like a helpless being. Śukra found in her deceitfulness, greediness, impurity, cruelty and insolenece.[86] She was depicted to be devilish by nature and always prone to jealousy.[87] This was all done in the name of religion and society, and the poor wife had to bear this degradation with stoic calmness.

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[83] Manu, III, 56-57.

[84] Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, XVI, 5; Yājñavalkya, I, 71.

[85] Vasishṭha, V, 2; Vishṇu XXV, 13; Manu, IX, 3.

However, this cannot represent the balanced view of society towards the women in general, for a social tyranny of this nature, if allowed to continue for a long time , was bound to make the society unhappy and miserable. It cannot thrive and prosper and also no hope can be entertained for its material or spiritual advancement. In actual practice, therefore, the position of women was much better than what has been described in the Law Books. Although she was content to call herself the ' dāsī ' (slave) or 'Pānva kī Pānahī ' (shoe of the foot) of her husband,'[88] she still continued to be the mistress of the house and had the right to be consulted in all matters intended for the welfare of the family, and her opinion was valued. She commanded respect and admiration from one and all for her noble qualities like devotion to duty and personal character. Sometimes, even in domains other than her own, she rubbed shoulders with man with courage and determination and performed deeds of chivalry and statemanship of high order. Queen Karpūradevī, the mother of Prithvīrāja III, was a talented lady who has been highly praised for able and wise administration of the state during the minority of her son.[89]

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[86] Śukra, III, 163.

[87] Prabandha Chandrodaya, pp. 43 and 46.

[88] Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 6 and 17.

[89] PV. IX, 3-35.

Woman as child :—The birth of a female child has never been a welcome thing in the family.[90] This preferential treatment between male and female children was perhaps due to the fact that the former ever remained with his parents and supported them in their old age. 'It is not surprising then that the birth of a girl in the family did not cause much rejoicing and she was put aside while a boy was lifted up by parents with expression of joy.' But once a girl was born, it was the duty of her parents to bring her up and educate her properly. However, the prevalence of child-marriage must have throttled in infancy the intellectual capacity of the female sex and checked its natural growth to full stature. The scope of her education was also limited, and, according to Hārīta, education could be imparted to young girls only on the condition that they are taught by their own parents, brothers or any other relatives in the house.[91]

In house-hold affairs and female duties, she received lessons from the elderly ladies of the house. When the girl came of age, she was given in marriage before parents to a man of equal caste and rank, for celebacy among the fair sex was a rare thing, and dangerous too, for both, the girl and her family. At the time of her marriage she was decked with valuable ornaments and clothes by her parents according to their status, and with various presents from relatives and friends, she departed with a mixed feeling of joy and sorrow for the house of her husband which was to be her permanent home.[92]

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[90] Al Beruni Kā Bhārata, Vol. II, p. 102.

[91] As cited by Indra in 'The Status of Women in Ancient India', p. 172.

Woman as Wife :—She was a welcome addition in the family of her husband where she was received in the midst of great rejoicings.[93] She served the elders with devotion and fidelity and extended her love and affection to all the children in the family. She was her husband's best friend on occasions of joy and merry-makings, and served him, almost like a mother, in his hours of illness and woe. She bore sorrows and sufferings with patience and fortitude and her physcial disabilities seldom came in the way of her courage and determination to put up with them. She was a constant companion of her husband and seldom failed to stand by his side even in the dark hours of defeat and despair. When Prithvīrāja III narrated to his newly wedded queen Sanyogitā his dreadful dream in the previous night of the fateful battle, she uttered nothing but noble words of courage and hope : "Victory and fame to my lord: Oh sun of the Chohans, in glory or in pleasure, who has tasted so deeply as you ? To die is the destiny, not only of man, but of the gods, all desire to throw off the old garment ; but to die well is to live for ever. Think not of self, but of immortality, let your sword divide your foe and I shall be your 'ardhānga' (the other half) hereafter."[94] Firishta also refers to the sacrifice of Indian women who sold their ornaments to provide money to their husbands on the front when the confederacy of Hindu chiefs, headed by king Ānandapāla of the Punjab, opposed Mahmud of Ghazni in 1008 A. D. When the Chāhamāna king Harirāja burnt himself alive after his successive defeats at the hands of Kutb-ud-din, the ladies of the royal family gladly accompanied him to the funeral pyre.[95]

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[92] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 60-72.

[93] ibid, I, 74-78.

[94] Prithvīrāja Rāso, Samaya LXVI, verse 253, p. 2145.
Tod : AAR, Vol. I, p. 491 (1877 ed.).

The wife made the welfare of the family the motto of her life and managed the household affairs with care and economy. She was free to participate in various social functions and observed different festivals and fasts to invoke the blessings of gods for the welfare of her husband, in particular and that of the family in general. But if, on the other hand, a wife happened to be quarrelsome, wicked or mischievous, there could be no peace and harmony in the family, and not only her own life,but that of her husband also,became extremely miserable and unhappy. She was, in consequence, treated with contempt and lost the sympathies of all in the family.

Woman as Mother :—The mother, on account of her age, experience and unlimited resources of good will for all, was a real object of reverence in the family. She showed her love and affection on one and all and was rightly considered to be the best and foremost preceptor of the children in the family. She wielded a great influence on the character and life of her sons and daughters and was, to a considerable extent, responsible for making or marring their future career. We learn from the Prithvīrāja Rāso that on the refusal of Ālhā and Ūdala to go back to Mahobā to fight for their former lord, their mother Devalade felt gravely hurt and said : " Would that the gods had made me barren, that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the paths of the Rajput, and refuge to succour their prince in danger." Her heart, bursting with grief and her eyes raised to heaven, she continued, "was it for this, O Universal Lord, thou mad'st me feel a mother's pang for these destroyers of Binafur's fame ? Unworthy offspring ! the heart of the true Rajput dances with joy at the mere name of strife but ye, degenrate, cannot be the sons of Jasrāj-some carl must have stolen to my embrace, and from such ye must have sprung." This had the desired effect, and when her brave sons took leave of her for the battle from which there was no coming back, the noble mother, while bidding them fare-well, uttered the last words of courage to them, "Be true to your salt, and should you lose your heads for your prince, doubt not, you will obtain the celestial crown."[96]

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[95] HM, IV, 1-19.

PARDAH

There was no such pardah-system, as we find today, in Hindu society ; but women, it appears, did observe a certain amount of privacy from men, other than the members of their own family, and they did not mix with them quite freely. In royal families, however, entrances and exits were regulated. This was perhaps done to maintain the dignity of the royal palace, for we learn from Abu Zaid that queens sometimes appeared in the court with their husbands and 'no veil conceals them from the eyes of the visitors'.[97] The selection of a husband by a bride from amongst the assembled guests in an open assembly further lends support to this view. We are told that king Vīsaladeva III left Ujjain after his marriage with the newly wedded queen, seated by his side on the back of an elephant.[98] King Vīsaladeva's mother is also said to have attended the royal court and conferred with the ministers and other high officials of the state.[99]

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[96] Prithvīrāja Rāso, Mahobā Samaya, verses 190-92 and 540; Rāso sāra, pp. 463 and 464; Tod : AAR, Vol. I, pp. 485 and 489 (1877 ed.).

However, a certain code of conduct seems to have been observed with regard to the movement of women in general. Accordingly, " If she ever needed to go outside, she had to put on garments properly. She was not to walk fast, nor was she allowed to speak with any one except a dealer, a recluse, an old man and a physician." While walking, she was not to laugh, not to talk and not to make any gesture. She was ever to be wakeful about the proper covering of her body and never to let any part of hers to be bare."[100]

PROSTITUTION

Prostitution is an ancient institution formed mainly by dancing girls. They were given to music and dance and were often called by people to provide recreation in various social functions. They also attended royal courts and amused the kings and their courtiers by their beautiful performances.[101] Inscriptional evidence reveals that courtezans (Pramadākula), attached to the temples of gods, 'put on their ornaments and best garments' and attended with their Śūlapālas to celebrate religious festivals ' by instrumental music, dancing, singing and so forth.'[102] Al Beruni's observations are interesting in this respect. He states : " The kings make them an attraction for their cities, a bait of pleasure for their subjects, for no other but financial reasons."[103] But besides their social or financial utility, they were sometimes engaged as spies also for securing valuable information to the state.

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[97] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 11.

[98] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I. 74.

[99] ibid, II, 66.

[100] Śankha Smriti, as cited by Indra in the 'Status of Women in Ancient India', pp. 87-88.

FOOD AND DRINK

The main article of food consisted of wheat, barley, rice, pulse, gram, maize, jwar, bajra, vegetables and sugar, of which various preparations were made to suit the varying tastes of the people. Milk and different preparations of milk such as curd, butter and ghee etc. were concomitant parts of Hindu dietary.[101] Khīra was a favourite dish of theirs.[105] People took particular care in the preparation of food and eating and, as Hiuen Tsang observes, " All wash themselves before eating ;

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101. HM, XIII, 11-34; Vīsaladeva Rāso, III, 75.
102. EI, Vol. XI, p. 27.
103. Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 157.
104. Vīsaladeva Rāso, III. 81.
105. ibid. III, 24.

they never use that which has been left over (from a former meal) ; they do not pass the dishes. Wooden and stone vessels, when used, must be destroyed ; vessels of gold, silver, copper, or iron after each meal, must be rubbed and polished. After eating they cleanse their teeth with a willow stick, and wash their hands and mouth."[106] Betel-eating was a common practice among all classes of people.[107] We are told that the celebrated poet Śrī Harsha was honoured by king Jayachandra 'with a pair of betel-leaves, it being customary with the Hindu Rajas to welcome men of eminence thus.'[108]

Meat and fish were also included in Hindu diet. We may infer from an order by king Alhaṇdeva to Brāhmaṇa priests and others to respect his edict of non-slaughter on certain days of the month that some of the Brāhmaṇas also took to meat eating.[109] There was, however, a growing tendency among the people towards vegetarianism and, as is borne out by the Smritis[110] and the statement of Al Masudi,[111] the Brāhmaṇas generally abstained from meat-eating. Among the followers of the Kaula sect, meat, fish and wine, along with certain other things, were treated as a means to Salvation.[112]

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[106] S. Beal : Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 79. Similar are the observations of Al Beruni in this connection. Al Beruni Kā Bhārata, Vol. II, p. 100.

[107] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 22, 25 and 47.

[108] Naishadhīya Charita, XXII, p. 528 (Bombay ed. 1919).

[109] EI, Vol. XI, p. 44.

[110] Manu, V, 11-56.

[111] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 19.

[112] Karpūra-Mañjarī, Javanikāntara, I, verses 22-23.

The Vaiśyas were generally vegetarian in diet, especially those who had adopted the Jain faith, but some of them were non-vegetarian also.[113] The rest of the people were mostly non-vegetarian who took the flesh of sheep, goat, or deer, and sometimes fish too. Beef and flesh of larger animals like tiger, horse, mule, ass, camel and elephant etc. were prohibited for all the four Varṇas[114], and as the Chanḍālas did not observe this prohibition, they were treated as outcastes and lived outside the towns and villages.

The Hindus, as a people, were not addicted to drink. We learn from the merchant Sulaiman that Indians 'do not take wine, nor do they take vinegar, which is made of wine.'[115] According to the statement of Al Masudi 'the Hindus abstain from drinking wine, and censure those who consume it, not because their religion forbids it, but in the dread of its clouding their reason and depriving them of its powers. If it can be proved of one of their kings that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits his crown, for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if his mind is affected.'[116] Smritis were also against the use of wine and the Brāhmaṇas were not allowed to sell it even. From these, it is clear that drinking was not a common practice, at least among the high class people, and drunkards were condemned and looked down upon in society. On certain occasions, however, as we learn from the Vīsaladeva Rāso, wine was served, perhaps in a limited quantity, to guests and others.[117] This is further borne out by the testimony of Ibn Khurdādba that Katarias (Kshatriyas) do not drink more than three cups of wine.[118] A certain class of Śramaṇas or Bauddha Bhikshus also, who often indulged in unclean habits, is said to have been addicted to it.[119]

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[113] SJGM, Vol. II, p. 102.

[114] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, p. 151.

[115] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 7.

[116] ibid, p. 20.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

In matters of dress, the people were generally frugal and preferred white garments to those of mixed colour or ornamented. Their usual dress was a 'dhoti', uttarīya and a turban or cap. Kshīrodaka was probably a white garment used by men.[120] ' Men wind their garments round their middle, then gather them under armpits, and let them fall down across the body,hanging to the right.' These garments were loose and, in cold places, they wore ' short and close-fitting garments '. Women put on their traditional charming dress, i. e., ' sārī, and ' chunarī ', ' chīra ' or 'lahangā', and close fitting blouse (Kanchukī)which were often ornamented and coloured.[121] The widows ,however, used only white garments. ' The robes of the women fall down to the ground ; they completely cover their shoulders. They wear a little knot of hair on their crowns, and let the rest of their hair fall loose.'[122] These garments were mostly made of silk (Kauśeya) or cotton.[123] People, sometimes, used woollen clothes made of fine sheep or goat hair, but this must have been a luxury for the common man. Shoes of different designs and colours were also used.[124]

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[117] Vīsaladeva Raso, IV, 18.

[118] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 16.

[119] Prabandha Chandrodaya, p. 122.

[120] Vīsaladeva Rāso, IV, 31.

[121] Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 64-65 and 80, and III, 6, and IV, 40.

[122] S. Beal : Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I. p. 75.

Love of ornaments was a special feature of the Hindus and men and women, the rich and the poor, were all alike fond of them. Ornaments like ear-rings, neck-laces of gold and pearls, bracelets, armlets, rings, bangles and 'pāyalas' were very popular among the women,[125] whose elegant ornamentation, polishing of nails[126] and application of 'mahāvara' in the lower parts of their foot only indicate their high sense of decoration and beauty. According to the testimony of Hiuen Tsang, 'they stain their teeth red or black, they bind up their hair and pierce their ears ; they ornament their noses and have large eyes.[127] Married women put on 'sindūra' and 'kumakuma' on their forehead.[128] We learn from the Prithvīrāja Vijaya that the men and women of Ajmer maintained a high standard of aesthetic taste and 'the perfumed incense, burnt by ladies to dry their hair, gathers in thick clouds and hides the moon . . .The camphor and musk which drop from the bodies of the citizens in the street, make the clothes of the passers–by white-black'.[129] Rich people of both the sexes, in order to decorate their person as well as to show off their riches, bedecked themselves with pearl-necklaces and other jewelled ornaments of various kinds. Flower wreaths were also a favourite item of their decoration and they wore them in profusion.[130] Abu Zaid informs us that 'the kings of India are accustomed to wear ear-rings of precious stones, mounted in gold. They also wear necklaces of great value, formed of the most precious red and green stones. Pearls, however, are held in the highest esteem and are greatly sought after.'[131]

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[123] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 22; IV, 8.

[124] ibid, I, 35; III , 34-35.

[125] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 22, 26, 58, and II, 14, 25, 61 and III, 22.

[126] ibid, III, 13.

[127] S. Beal : Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, p. 76. ; Visaladeva Rāso, III, 13, 36.

[128] ibid, III, 97.

[129] PV, V, 155 and 179; JRAS, 1913, p. 273.

MANNERS AND ETIQUETTE

The Hindus were, as they have always been, famous for their refined and polished manners and etiquette while their hospitality is proverbial. A guest, who was called an 'atithideva' (guest-god), was always welcome in the house and the host felt only extremely happy to serve him with food, cold drink and betel etc., no matter whether he was from amongst them or a foreigner. They were polite and respectful to all and their manners and methods of greetings and salutation were charming. Hiuen Tsang speaks of nine prevalent methods[132] among the Hindus to show reverence and respect to their elders. Of these 'the most respectful is to make one prostration on the ground and then to kneel and laud the virtues of the one addressed. When at a distance, it is usual to bow low ; when near, then it is customary to kiss the feet and rub the ankles (of the person addressed.)' He further remarks that 'not only do they prostrate themslves to show reverence, but they also turn round towards the thing reverenced in many ways, sometimes with one turn, sometimes with three : if from some long-cherished feeling there is a call for marked reverence, then according to the desire of the person.'[133] A person, receiving orders at the hands of his superior, gently lifted the skirts of his robes and made a bow to show his respect. The senior person, on the other hand, spoke to him gently either by touching his head or patting his back and addressng him with good words of direction or advice to show his affection.[134] These observations have been as true in subsequent centuries as they were in the 7th when the celebrated pilgrim visited this country.

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[130] Vīsaladeva Rāso, III, 57, 76.

[131] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 11.

Utbi informs us that the neck-lace which was taken off the neck of king Jaipāla after his defeat and capture, was 'composed of large pearls and shining gems and rubies set in gold, of which the value was two hundred thouands dinars; and twice that value was obtained from the necklaces of those of his relatives who were taken prisoner, or slain, (ibid, Vol. II, p. 26.).

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[132] The nine methods were : (1) by selecting words of a soothing character in making requests; (2) by bowing the head to show respect; (3) by raising the hands and bowing; (4) by joining the hands and bowing low; (5) by bending the knees; (6) by a prostration, (7) by a prostration on hands and knees; (8) by touching the ground with five circles and (9) by stretching the five parts of the body on the gound.

(S. Beal : Buddhist Records of the Western Worlds, Vol. I, p. 85.)

[133] ibid, p. 85.

[134] ibid, p. 85.

SLAVERY

The institution of slavery existed in India from time immemorial in some form or the other, but foreign travellers, who visited the country from time to time, failed to notice it. It is so because slavery, as prevalent in India, was not a condemned or hated institution as it was elsewhere, and the general attitude of the Hindus towards their slaves was one of good-will and love as if they were the members of the same family. The master was kind and considerate to his slaves, and, on occasions like festivals or marriage, he bestowed favours on them. Trusted slaves were shown special favours by the owner who entrusted them with works of responsibility.

The law-books have described fifteen kinds of slaves. They are :—[135]

1. Born in the house (of some slave girl).
2. Purchased (with money).
3. Detained (as gift etc.).
4. Inherited as property.
5. Reared during famine.
6. Kept as ransom (by the owner).
7. Freed from a huge debt.
8. Taken in war.

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[135] गृहजातस्तथा क्रीतो लब्धो दायादुपागतः
अनाकाल भृतस्तद्वदाहितः स्वामिना च यः
मोक्षितो महतश्चर्णा युद्धप्राप्तः पणेजितः
तवाहमित्युपगतः प्रव्रज्यावसितः कृतः
भक्तदासश्च विज्ञेयस्तथैव वडवाहृतः
विक्रेता चात्मनः शास्त्रे दासाः पंचदशस्मृताः
Mitākshарā, p. 249.

9. Won in a wager (defeated in some discussion and then become slave according to the prescribed condition).
10. One who (of his own accord) approaches with the request 'I am yours'.
11. Fallen from the life of renunciation.
12. One who becomes a slave for a specified period.
13. Devotee slave (or, one who becomes a slave to have an assured supply of rice, i. e., food alone).
14. One who has been attracted by some slave girl in the family.
15. One who sells himself.

Provisions were made by the state for special favours and freedom extended to the slaves by their masters. Thus, according to Yājñavalkya, if the owner did not free one who was forced to slavery, or was sold as such by thieves, the king should liberate him. A slave, who saved the life of his master from a danger or difficulty, had the right to be freed.[136] For the latter, however, the Nārada Smriti provides even a share, like a son, in the master's property.[137] A slave could purchase his freedom after paying off his debts. Similarly, various provisions were made for the liberation of different kinds of slaves also.[138]

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[136] बलाद्दासी कृतश्चौरैर्विक्रीतश्चापि मुच्यते
स्वामि-प्राणप्रदो भक्त त्यागात्तन्निष्क्रयादपि
Mitākshara, p. 249.

[137] Quoted by Dr. Ojha in Madhya Kālīna Bhāratīya Sanskriti, p. 60.

[138] Mitākshara, pp. 249-50.

At the time of granting freedom to his slave the master picked up the pitcher, full of water, from the shoulders of the slave, broke it to pieces, and throwing rice (akshata) and flowers etc. on him he uttered thrice, 'thou art no longer a slave', and the slave was a free man again.[139]

RECREATION

The Hindus had a strong instinct for recreation and amusements of various nature. Horse-race, chariot-race bull-fight, elephant-fight, bird-fight and wrestling provided them considerable amusement and were quite common among the people of different places. Hunting, though an occupation among the lower classes, was a manly amusement for the people of the upper classes. Al Beruni felt highly amazed at different skills displayed by hunters in pursuing the hunt. They took to the game of Polo also for their physical strength and development. Gambling[140] and chess[141] were among the softer games which required mental skill only. Both of them were old games and, although in the former, the people sometimes lost not only their property but, along with it, the peace and happiness of the family as well, they never gave it up. Music and dancing provided them more amusement than any one of these and the Hindus, as a people, took a keen interest in both of them.[142] They had an equally keen interest for dramatic performances for which halls were built in various places.[143] 'Kajalī, and 'Jhūlā' offered a delightful interest, especially to the class of ladies, in the month of 'Śrāvaṇa'.[144] Snake charmers and wizards, who travelled from village to village, were also a great source of amusement to the village-folk. The fairs had, besides their economic aspect, an amusement side also and various games and sports were arranged there for the recreation of the common man. Festivals like 'Vasanta' and 'Holi' etc., which lasted for more days than one, were a real source of joy and pleasure and people of all classes, high and low, rich and poor, participated in them with great enthusiasm.[145]

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[139] ibid, p. 250.

[140] Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 60.

[141] Al Beruni Kā Bhārata, Vol. I, pp. 103-06.

[142] HM, XIII, 11-34; Vīsaladeva Rāso, III, 75.

The kings maintained picture-galleries for recreation and pastime and retired there for enjoyment after the tiring work of the court.[146] Discussions,[147] which were of both religious as well as literary type, were, no doubt, highly amusing and instructive, but they were meant mainly for the learned class. One such discussion has been elaborately described in a Jain work, named Kharataragachchha-Gurvāvalī by Jinapālodaya. It was held between Jinapati Sūri of Kharataragachchha and Padmaprabha of Ukeśagachchha in the court of king Prtithvīrāja III in 1182 A. D. in the presence of eminent court scholars like Vidyāpati, Janārdana Gauḍa and

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[143] EI, Vol. XI, p. 54.

[144] Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 47 and III 18.

[145] Vīsaladeva Rāso, III, 13-14 and 87; NPP, Vol. II, part II (new ed.) pp. 283-84; Rāso Sāra, p. 239.

[146] PV, XI, 24-105 ; Tawney : PC, p. 191.

[147] Rājataranginī, VII, 881-83, 895 and 944.

Vāgīśvara with Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kaimāsa as the chief judge. It was a disputation of religious nature, and, when it was over, some further discussion on grammar and other subjects were also held between the contesting scholars on the same day. The king then proceeded to reward Jinapati Sūri, who was declared victorious, and presented him with the 'Vijaya-patra' or the certificate of victory.[148]

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[148] Kharataragachchha Gurvāvalī, Prâbandha 22 (b); also see 'Hindustani' January, 1940, pp. 77-97.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS LIFE

India is a land of religions where religious beliefs of various nature find a fertile soil for their spread and growth. If a religious preacher convinced the people of the superiority of his creed they generally changed their views and followed the new cult with equal devotion. Spiritual attainment was ever emphasized more than material advancement in India and, in order to make the soul free from worldly shackles, efforts were made towards the attainment of 'moksha' or the highest bliss. The different creeds, therefore, that appeared in the country from time to time, vied with one another in suggesting ways and means for the realization of this ultimate goal. There were no doubt marked dissimilarities in the forms and practices of different creeds, but these differences seldom led the people to religious wars followed by scenes of carnage and destruction. Every religion in the country preached peace and Toleration and the superiority of a particular creed was decided mostly by religious discussions or by peaceful appeal to the religious sentiment of the people in general. Rulers were generally broad minded and tolerant, and, barring a few examples, they seldom suppressed a different creed or oppressed its followers. Thus, religion in India seems to have been a personal affair and individuals were generally free to subscribe to any religious view for the attainment of salvation and bliss.

In the kingdom of Śākambharī and Ajmer where the Chāhamānas ruled from the middle of the 6th. century A. D.[1] right upto their fall by the end of the 12th, century A. D. there were three main religious systems, namely Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. Of these Hinduism continued to be the most dominant religion during all the time of the Chāhamāna rule. Jainism, on the other hand, made its headway only after the 10th, century A. D. while Buddhism, which had but a limited following in this region at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, was on the wane.

DISAPPEARANCE OF BUDDHISM

Buddhism, which was once a dominant religion in India and which had spread far and wide in distant lands, curiously enough does not find even a passing reference in the whole of the Chāhamāna records, epigraphic or literary. As a matter of fact, it was in existence in the kingdom of Śākambharī during the early part of the Chāhamāna rule. But we gather from Hiuen Tsang's accounts that Buddhism was a declining religion in southern Rajasthan and Malwa etc.,[2] and this may be equally true of the kingdom of Śākambharī which lay quite near by.

The cheif causes of its decline and eventual disappearance are that, after the rise of the Mahāyāna sect, Buddhism and Hinduism were approaching each other and the latter, through its policy of accommodation and assimilation, was absorbing the former by fraternal embrace. Buddhism, which owed much of its growth to royal patronage, failed to secure it from the Chāhamāna kings who seem to have extended their support to one or the other sect of Hinduism. This loss of royal patronage together with internal dissensions in the Buddhist church contributed much towards its collapse. The spiritual decay, caused by the spread of abhorrent and licentious practices among the Buddhist monks and nuns weakened the church considerably, and lowered its prestige in the public eye. This caused looseness in the great organization which could not keep pace with time and failed to stand against the renovated vigour and strength of its old rival, the Brahmanical Hinduism. Further encroachments were made on this religion by Hinduism which borrowed from the Mahāyāna sect the worship of images and made it all its own. Buddhism itself, on the other hand, made a close approach to Hinduism by its adoption of Sanskrit language as a vehicle of expression and by its new stress upon faith and devotion as religious factors. Hindus, at least a good number of them, imbibed the spirit, of ‘ Ahimsā ’ which was an essential teaching of Lord Buddha and ultimately included him in the pantheon of Hindu gods, so much so, indeed, that he began to be regarded, even by the most orthodox Hindus, as one of the ten incarnations of Vishṇu and his images were converted into those of Hindu gods. Buddhism was thus completely deprived of all of its former charm and attraction and ceased to command the devotion of the people.

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[1] Supra, pp. 82-85. SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 133.

[2] Hiuen Tsang kā Bhārata Bhramaṇa, pp. 626-39.

SPREAD OF JAINISM

Jainism had, before the 10th. century A. D., a better hold in the south than in the north. The Jain scholars added beauty and grace to local vernaculars of the south by their profuse writings and tried to impress not only the common man by their love of learning and scholarship, but also exerted 'their best to secure influence at several Hindu courts.' However, when it came into clash with the revived Śaivism, it failed to stand against it, and finally the anti-Jain policy of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava kings brought about its fall in the south.

But, during the 11th. and 12th. centuries, Jainism made a considerable headway in Rajasthan, Gujrat and Malwa and the Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer and Naḍḍūla offered it all possible protection and aid within their territories. It is really surprising that the Chāhamāna kings, who had little respect for non-slaughter and were staunch Śaivite or Vaishṇavite by conviction, should have shown this respect to this faith of strictest non-violence. It appears that, although Buddhism had disappeared from the land, it had left behind a permanent legacy of non-violence for which the people in general had developed a high regard, while the Chāhamāna kings, on their part, maintained a fairly tolerant attitude towards religion and treated with due respect the different religious views of their subjects. It is, therefore, this respect for 'the returning tide of Ahimsa' that seems to have helped Jainism from obscurity to comparative popularity.

The Jains succeeded in securing favours from the Chāhamāna courts. We are told that kings and other members of the royal family provided, sometimes at state expense and sometimes from their personal property, lamp, incense and flowers etc. for the daily worship of the Jain gods.[3] Moreover, the Jains managed to secure royal patronage also from some of the Chāhamāna kings and, we learn from the Kirāḍū stone inscription that king Alhaṇadeva of Naḍḍūla, 'thinking granting of security to animals to be the highest gift, issued injunctions for the increase of his spiritual merit and fame to the Mahājanas, Tāmbūlikas and the other subjects, forbidding the slaughter of living animals on the 8th, 11th. and 14th. days of both the fortnights of every month in the three towns (Kirāṭakūpa, Lāṭahrada and śivā), and threatening capital punishment to those who killed or caused others to kill living beings'[4] The kings were, on the whole, kind, considerate and respectful to the Jains who, on their own part, expressed their implicit faith and confidence in the goodness and justice of their sovereigns, and whenever there was a difference of opinion or dispute among Jain scholars, they generally referred it for settlement to their kings.[5]

This policy of toleration and liberality encouraged a good number of people within the Chāhamāna territory to adopt Jain religion. For the worship of the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, who were as many as twenty-four in number, numerous magnificent temples were built by devout worshippers in various places, in which were installed the statues of some of the important Tīrthaṅkaras such as Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra, Dharmanāthadeva,

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[3] EI, Vol. XI, pp, 28, 35, 36, 42, 47, 49, 50 and 59.

[4] EI, Vol. XI, ppl 43-44.

[5] Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvalī, p. 22(b); also see 'Hindustani', January, 1940, pp. 97-99.

Śāntināthadeva, etc.[6] Members of the royal family, state officials, guilds and other generous people made liberal grants towards the maintenance of these temples and provided means to Jain ascetics living in them[7], Provisions were made for lamp, incense and flower etc. for the daily worship of the Jain gods[8] and liberal grants enabled festivals like 'Rathayātrā', and 'Kalyāṇika' to be observed with pomp and show.[9] Sometimes wealthy persons joined together in making benefactions for the 'Sangha' or the Jain community in general.[10]

Some of the kings of Naḍḍūla seem to have made attempts to bring together Hinduism and Jainism as far as they could. We learn from the Nadol plates of king Alhaṇadeva (1161 A. D.) that, after having worshipped the sun and Īśāna (śiva) and made gifts to Brāhmaṇas and 'gurus' etc, he made a grant to the Jain temple of Mahāvīradeva who is addressed as omniscient and is desired to bestow welfare in the opening lines of the inscription.[11] In another grant of the same year Rājaputra Kīrtipāla of Naḍḍūla is said to have invoked 'the blessings of the gods Brahman, Śrīdhara (Vishṇu) and Śankara who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinas or Jain Arhaṭas'.[12] This was a noble attempt to bring both the religions nearer to each other.

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[6] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 28, 30, 34, 36, 41, 46, 51, 53.

[7] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 35, 42, 47, 49, 50 and 53.

[8] ibid, p. 36.

[9] ibid, pp. 41 and 47.

[10] ibid, pp. 41 and 53.

[11] ibid, Vol. IX, p. 63.

[12] ibid, p. 67.

But inspite of a fairly liberal attitude of the Chāhamāna kings towards this faith, it could not be a very popular religion. Its great stresss on self-mortification such as fast etc., and an equally great insistence on a life of absolute renunciation and non-violence placed it beyond the reach of the common man. It could not, therefore, attract people in large numbers and consequently failed to enjoy the position of a popular religion. Its both the sects, namely ‘ Digamvara ’ and ‘ Śvetāmvara ’ flourished side by side and, while the former prescribed nudity to its monks, the latter allowed two white clothes to them. As a religious philosophy, however, Jainism was quite rich and produced eminent scholars of high order who were well-versed in almost all the important branches of learning such as Logic and Grammar, Astronomy and Medicine etc. and made permanent contribution to Indian culture and society. They enjoyed the respect and admiration of one and all and, sometimes, out of conviction as well as respect, the intellectuals of different classes joined the Jain fold and ‘ contributed to the maintenance of the reputation of the Jain learning.’

HINDUISM

Hinduism, which triumphed over all other religions in the country and absorbed them all, was essentiallly different from the old Brahmanical religion in both form as well as practice. The theoretical basis of the changed religion was, no doubt, the old vedic system which had continued in the country inspite of Buddhism with all its original popularity and royal patronage. The Vedic religion consisted chiefly of keeping the sacrificial fire and performing daily or occasionally vedic sacrifices. The Sevādī copper plates of the Chāhamāna king Ratnapāla of Naḍḍūla speak of the Brāhmaṇas ' who are performers of sacrificial rites prescribed in the Yajurveda, such as Avasathya (sacred domestic fire), Agnihotra (daily offering to fire), Agnishṭoma (liturgical rites in the soma sacrifice), Sautramaṇi (rite sacred to Sutramana, i. e., Indra), Paśubandha (animal sacrifice-binding of animals to sacrificial post), (and) Chāturmāsya (sacrifice to be offered every fourth month) ; and 'who are well-versed in vedas and vedāngas.'[13] Thus the vedas with their associate literature were still held in high esteem. They were committed to memory and recited according to certain modulation especially by the Brāhmaṇas whose primary duty it was to preserve them and hand over this knowledge to posterity. Al Beruni's observation in this respect is interesting. He notes ; " The Brahmins recite the Veda without understanding its meaning and, in the same way, they learn it by heart, the one receiving it from the other. Only few of them learn its explanation and still less is the number of those who master the contents of the Veda and their interpretation to such a degree as to be able to hold a theological disputation."[14]

Occasional sacrifices were also performed, especially 'at the time of Upanayana or of marriage.' Moreover, the ceremony of the gift of land was also performed-accompanied by a sacrifice in fire. It was, however, being modified in the light of the new worship coming in vogue with the prominence of the Puranic gods and goddesses called Hindu Pantheon, and epigraphical evidence brings to light the happy blending of the two worships. Thus, the grantor king bathes in some sacred river at a wellknown ghaṭṭa or ghāt, offers Tarpaṇa water to gods, mortals and manes (a ritual enjoined in Vedic Sūtras), praises the Sun (also a Vedic worship), then worships Śiva and Vishṇu (Puranic deities) and finally offers oblations of ghee to the sacred fire (Vedic worship again) and then pours water on the hand of the donee consecrating the gift.[15]

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[13] EI, Vo. XI, p. 306.

[14] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, p. 125.

But the new religion, popularly called Hinduism, had characteristic features of its own which are fundamentaly distinct and dissimilar from those of the older form. It drew inspiration, not from the Vedas or from their literature, but from the epics, the Purāṇas and the Smritis which formed an altogether separate class of literature advocating methods of worship entirely different from those of the Vedic texts. There was thus a complete deviation in matters of deities, rites and rituals, and 'Śrāddhā, (faith), the watchward of the Vedic religion, was replaced by 'Bhakti' or devotion. It further stole a march over Buddhism also by making 'Ahimsā, an integral part of its creed. The supreme deity was, however, the same as in Vedic times though different names were given to its various manifestations. Accorddingly, the worship of Puranic gods and goddesses like Vishṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Ganeśa and Pārvatī in her various aspects were introduced in Hindu religion with all their gorgeous ceremonies and ceremonials.[16] Each god had his own following and method of worship and his Followers considered their favourite deity as superior to the rest of the gods. Over and above this, trees and stones were also deified and worshipped as gods.[17] This gave rise to a number of sects and subsects within the fold of Hinduism and, inspite of its fundamental unity, Hinduism became, to all intents and purposes, a divided religion.

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[15] यमुनायां स्नात्वा यथाविधि देवऋषि मनुष्य भूत प्रितृंश्च तर्पयित्वा सूर्यं भट्टारकमुपस्थाय सर्वकर्तारं भगवन्तं शिवं विश्वाधरं वासुदेवं समभ्यर्च्य हुतवहं हुत्वा. . . .
IA, Vol. XIV, p. 103 ; also see Vaidya : HMHI, Vol. III p. 418.

As 'the idol helps in the concentration of the devotional mind towards God', Hinduism also adopted idolatry, a popular form of worship among the Buddhists, and its different sects made it a common creed of their own. They, however, believed 'in the inherent power of stones and trees and idols to do good or to do mischief, and this, in course of time, led them to believe that their idols possessed supernatural powers.[18] forgetting entirely perhaps the essentials of idolatry that ' the deity is not in the idol but in man's own head and heart and an idol cannot effect wonders by itself.' This form of worship and devotion assumed a great popularity and hundreds of temples were built in different parts of the kingdom and idols of gods and goddesses like Vishṇu

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[16] EI, Vol. IX, 63, 67, 74 ; ibid, Vol. XI, p. 305 ; IA, 1913, p. 57 PV ; IV, 67; V, 37, 43, 45, 53, 68 ; VI, 26-28 ; VIII, 63-71.

[17] Elliot : Vol. I, p. 76.

[18] See the description of the temple of Somanatha and its deity by Ibn-al-Athir at the time of the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni.

Śiva, Brahmā, Sun, Durgā and others were installed in them.[19] These temples were regarded as personal dwellings of the gods who were believed to be residing there in their earthly abodes through statue or symbols. The grandeur of some of the magnificently built temples far surpassed the sacred structures associated with Jainism or Buddhism and people from every nook and corner of the country flocked there in thousands to pay their homage and prayers and invoke the blessings of their favourite deities with offerings of various kinds.

New Vaishṇavism

The activities of the Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer, who followed a policy of toleration and liberality with reagrd to religion, were not limited to any particular form of worship or sect which appears to be a matter of personal interest to each of the kings. Some of them had a Vaishṇava leaning and worshipped Vishṇu in any one of his numerous aspects. We learn from the Prithīrāja Vijaya that king Chāmunḍarāja (c. 1040-65 A. D.) built a Vaishṇava temple at Narwar[20] while king Arṇorāja is said to have been a great devotee of Vishṇu.[21] King Someśvara is also credited to have built a temple for god Vishṇu in the town of royal residence.[22] It is further supported by epigraphical evidence that king Prithvīrāja II invoked the blessings of god Murārī[23] who is one of the various aspects of Vishṇu himself. King Ratnapāla of Naḍḍulā adorned Vishṇu[24] who was also worshipped as Śrīdhara by Rājaputra Kīrtipāla of the same family.[25] Sometimes Vishṇu was worshipped[26] as Aparājiteśa[27] also. These, are but different names and aspects of the same deity commonly called Vishṇu, whose worship has given the name Vaishṇavism to this sect.

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[19] PV, V, 37, 43, 45, 53, 68 ; VI, 26-28 ; VIII, 63-71
IA, 1913, p. 57.
BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 474 ff. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 55-57.

[20] PV, V, 68.

[21] JASB, Vol. LV, part I, verse 16, p. 42.

[22] PV, VIII 65 and 68.

Vaishṇavism or the Bhāgavat religion is one of the main sects of the Brahmanical religion. It preached 'Ahimsā' long before the Buddha, but was reconciled with the Vedic religion in this respect that slaughter in Vedic sacrifices is no slaughter. During the ascendancy of Buddhism, Vaishṇavism had gone into the back ground, but later on, with its decline and disappearance, Vaishṇavism took a new turn and with its rise is associated the revival of the doctrine of 'Ahimsā' which was a special feature of the Buddhist Philosophy. The new Vaishṇavism seems to have taken to 'Ahimsā' more rigidly than before by stopping altogether the vedic sacrifices of animal slaughter and borrowed the Jain doctrine of abstention from meat diet. It further adopted the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of god Vishṇu and made him one of its own gods. This new religion was, therefore, more appealing and attractive to the people which facilitated the return of the Buddhists and others to their old god Vishṇu in the form of Lord Krishṇa. Very soon this religion became a popular one and some of the Chāhamāna kings, as shown above, took to this form of worship in right earnest.

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[23] IA, 1912, p. 17.

[24] EI, Vol. XI, p. 305.

[25] ibid, Vol. IX, p. 67.

[26] PV, VIII, 65.

[27] EI, Vol. IX, p. 74.

The new Vaishṇavism, though similar to Jainism on the doctrine of 'Ahimsā', was completely different from it from the view-points of the doctrine of self-mortification and renunciation. It main source of inspiration was the life of Lord Krsihṇa which 'preached the doctrine of the enjoyment of world's blessings'. In course of time, however, this doctrine seems to have drifted to the extreme, so much so that 'licentiousness became the leading feature of the new Vaishṇavism. The amours of Krishṇa with the Gopīs, which are depicted in an objectionable manner even in the Bhāgavat Purāṇa, ultimately gave rise, by the end of our period, to the Rādhā-cult. This was 'a natural outcome of this belief in the amours of Śrīkrishṇa, as the human mind cannot be satisfied without assigning one woman as the object of greatest love and we find the Gīta-Govinda of Jayadeva, a court-poet of Lakshmaṇasena (of Bengal) describing at this time in most enchanting tones the amours of Krishṇa and Rādhā who is still an adultress'.[28] This was, however, a later phase which, having been born in distant part like Bengal, does not appear to have much influenced the Vaishṇava worship as prevalent in the Chāhamāna kingdom of Ajmer.

Like the Buddhists or the Jains, the Vaishṇavas also believed in the twenty-four incarnations of Lord Vishṇu, of which the ten, i.e., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nrisimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Krishṇa, Buddha and Kalkī, are the most important. The statues of Vishṇu with two hands, or even with four, were installed in temples long ago ; but later on they were depicted to have as many as fourteen or twenty-four hands as well. Three faced statues are also found in which Vishṇu is shown to have either three mouths with a crown or himself in the middle with those of Varāha and Nrisimha on either sides.[29]

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[28] Viadya : HMHI, Vol. III, p. 401.

Śaivism.

As Śaivism was the most prevalent religion during this period and its tenets and philosophy were more appealing to the people, especially to the Kshatriyas, it naturally found favour with the Chāhamāna kings, most of whom adopted it as their personal religion. They seem to be strongly devoted to the worship of Śiva and adorned Pushkar, Ajmer and other places with numerous beautiful temples dedicated to the deity of Kailāśa. We learn from the Harsha stone inscription that king Gūvaka I (c. 809-36 A. D.) built a lofty 'mansion of the divine Harshadeva which is charming with the expanse of its spacious hall exquisite with the splendour of a gold shell' and etc.[30] We are further told that king Vākpatirāja I and his son Simharāja built magnificent mansions of Śiva at Pushkara,[31] while Prithvīrāja I, in order to acquire religious merit and fame, established an alms-house on the road to the sacred Somanātha[32] King Arṇorāja and his son Someśvara also built lofty temples of their favourite deity at Ajmer and other places.[33] King Vigraharāja IV, on the other hand, who was a great devotee of Śiva, devised a different means to please the god Mahādeva and composed his famous drama the 'Harakeli-Nātaka' in the praise of the Lord.[34] Some of the queens also appear to be equally devoted to Śiva worship and queen Rudrāṇīdevī, the wife of king Chandanarāja, placed on the banks of the Pushkara lake a thousand Śīva Lingas for the worship of the God.[35]

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[29] Ojha : Madhya Kālina Bhāratiya Samskriti, p. 20.

[30] IA, 1913, pp. 57-58.

[31] PV, V, 43 and 45.

The Chāhamāna kings of Naḍḍūla also appear to have been strong Śaivites. They erected numerous Śiva temples which were generally named after the kings who built them. The important ones among such temples were those of Lakshmaṇa-Svāmin, Jageśvara, Someśvara Jendrarājeśvara, Aṇahileśvara, Prithvīpāleśvara, Asaleśvara and Āśāpāleśvara, etc.[36] The person who was in charge of the worship of the deity in each of these temples was known as the Bhaṭṭāraka while the inferior class of Brāhmaṇas, working mostly as temple servants, was called the Aboti.[37] King Ratnapāla[38], Aṇahilla and

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32. ibid, V, 82.
33. ibid, VI, 26-28 and VIII, 63-70.
34. IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-15.
35. PV, V, 37.
36. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 26-27 and 38-39.
37. ibid, pp. 38-39.
38. ibid, p. 305.

Rājaputra Kīrtipāla[39] are also known to have been worshippers of Śiva.

The Śaiva ascetics were mostly the followers of the Āgama of Lakulīśa. This sect was so named because its followers believed in 'Kāyāvatāra' (incarnation) of Śiva with a 'Lakuṭa' (stave) in the hand.[40] Before the 10th. century A.D. this was the most prevalent sect among the Śaivas within the chāhamāna dominious. We learn from the Harsha stone inscription (973 A. D.) of 'a line of ascetics who were in charge of the temple of Harshanātha' or Śiva. It is related that there lived one Viśvarūpa 'who was a teacher of Lakula doctrine expounding Panchārtha.' Among those ascetics were Bhāvīrakta and Bhāvodyota who are described as 'digamalavasana' and 'digambara' respectively. 'This may indicate that the sect, like their deity Lakulīśa who is represented as Urdha-medhra, was naked'.[41] The names of the Lakulīśa Pāśupatas generally ended in Rāśi while those whose names ended in Śiva or Siu were knwn as Śaiva.[42]

The Linga Purāṇa informs us of the names of four disciples of Lakulīśa, namely Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya who are said to have founded four sects more.[43] The 'Kāpālikas'[44] and the 'Kālamukhas' worshipped Bhairava and Rudra, the two different, aspects of Lord Śiva himself. They put on 'Mālā'

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[39] ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 63 and 67.

[40] Ojha : Sirohī kā Itihāsa, p. 39, foot-note.

[41] IA, 1923, p. 57.

[42] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 38-39.

[43] Ojha : Madhya Kālīna Bhāratīya Sanskriti, p. 22.

[44] RMR, 1913, p. 2.

(garland), ' Bhūshaṇa ' (ornaments) 'Kuṇḍala' (ear-rings) ' Ratna ' (jewellery) ' Bhasma ' (ashes) and ' Upavīta' (sacred thread) and served their meals in human skulls. The austerities of these sects limited their number to ascetics alone.[45]

This Śaivism was the natural outcome of the evolution of the Pārabrahma (Supreme God) doctrine during the Upanishadhic period. The division among the vedic worshippers over this doctrine gave birth to Vaishṇavism and Śaivism almost simultaneously. The followers of Siva adopted him as the Supreme Deity and he began to be worshipped in his diffrent aspects such as the creator, director and destroyer of the universe. Śaivism soon became a popular religion with which was associated the phallic worship of the aborigines also. The Śaivas, or the Pāśupatas, as they were called, developed a high philosophy of their own and their sacred texts came to be called the Āgamas. Śaivism made a marked departure from the Vedic rituals and ' laid stress upon twilight adoration, worship, muttering of formulas (Japa), throwing oblations into the fire, occasional ceremonies for the attainment of the eternal bliss, methods of the restraint of breath, abstraction, meditation, concentration, absorption in thought (Samādhi), penances, purification by ceremonies and the worship of the various phallic forms.' It further allowed men of all castes to become the ascetics of this order for whom animal food appears to have been prohibited. But, unlike Vaishṇavism, it did not insist on vegetable food for all its lay devotees.

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[45] Ojha : Madhya Kalīne Bharatīya Sanskriti, p. 23.

This helped considerably to make Śaivism the religion of the commonalty.

Other Deities.

The four-faced Brahmā, as he is represented in statues and the Purāṇas, was worshipped as the creator of the universe. The worship of Brahmā, however, does not appear to have been a popular one and the only place, associated with his worship, is Pushkar near Ajmer. Some of the Chāhamāna kings adorned and worshipped him also. King Someśvara is said to have installed his statue in a temple[46] while the Sevādī copper plates inscription of king Ratnapāla opens with obeisance to him.[47] The Chāhamāna prince Kīrtipāla of Naḍḍūla is also known to have invoked the blessings of god Brahman.[48]

Another popular deity was Gaṇeśa. He is represented to be the son of Śiva and had an elephant's trunk attached to his mouth. He was steadily gaining prominence over other minor divinities and the Harsha stone inscription opens with an obeisance to god Gajānana ' and the glory of Śiva is sung only in the following verses.[49] Śiva's another son Skanda or Kārtikeya, who was represented with the missile named 'Śakti' in his hand, was worshipped as the generalissimo of the god.[50]

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[46] PV, VIII, 68.

[47] EI, Vol. XI, p. 305.

[48] ibid, Vol. IX, p. 67.

[49] IA, 1913, p. 57.

[50] Viruddha Vidhi Vidhvanśa, verse 10 ; also see IHQ, September, 1940, p. 570.

The Sun, although a vedic divinity, continued to be worshipped and sun temples were built in different places of which the one situated at Śrīmāḷa(Bhinmal in Marwar) within the territory of the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍūla was a famous one. Of this temple, the deity was named Jayasvāmī or Jagatasvāmin for whose worship various religious benefactions are recorded in inscriptions.[51] The Chāhamāna prince Indrarāja of Pratābgrah, who owed allegiance to the Pratīhāra king of Kanauj, is also known to have built a Sun temple at Pratabgarh.[52] However, the most renowned was the Martanḍa temple of Multan which was situated outside, but adjacent to, the Chāhamāna kingdom of Ajmer.

Besides the statues of gods, the eight Digpālas and various other aspects of nature or natural phenomena were also represented through statues for the worship of the people. Recently there was discovered during excavations in the Adhāi-din-kā-Jhonpra at Ajmer a piece of stone on which are engraved the statues of Kālī, Prabhāta, Prāta, Madhyāhna, Aparāhna and Sandhyā in the upper row and those of Purvā-Phālguna, Uttarā-Phālguna, Hasti, Chitrā, Svātī and Viśākhā in the lower row.[53]

Female Divinities.

When the worship of gods gained considerable popularity, it was but natural that the worship of goddesses should follow suit. They were, therefore, conceived as either the wives of gods or the manifestions of the different powers of gods themselves. Among the female divinities, Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, was the most popular diety. She was worshipped under different names such as Pārvatī, Devī, Durgā, Bahuguṇa-Mātā, Śākambharī or Āśāpurīdevī.[54] Śākambharīdevī, from whom was derived the original name of the Chāhamāna kingdom, was their family deity and was worshipped by them as Āśāpurīdevi because she is said to have caused the fulfilment of the hopes (Āśā) and aspirations of the founder prince Vāsudeva.[55] The Chāhamāna kings seem to have had a great devotion and admiration for this deity and king Vigraharāja II made for her, during his successful campaign in Gujrat, a Magnificent temple at Bhrigukachchha (Broach).[56] She was continued to be worshipped even by the Chāhamāna kings of Naḍḍūla also who had branched off from the main line of Śākambharī in the middle of the tenth century A. D.[57]

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[51] EI, Vol. XI, p. 56 ; BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 474 ff.

[52] EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-88.

[53] This piece of stone is now deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

The worship of Pārvatī in her terrible aspects like Kālī, Karālī, Kapālī,Chāmuṇḍā, Chaṇḍī, Kātyāyanī and Aghaleśvarī was becoming very popular[58] with the people because the goddess in these forms stood for vigour and strength. These aspects are also associated with the worship of the Kāpālikas and the Kālamukhas who were the followers of the Śaiva sect. During excavations at Sambhar have been found slate stone tablets (10th. century A. D.) with a four-armed Durgā, trident and shield in upper hands and what looks like a bell in the lower left hand and a part of a female figure with its right foot upon the head of a baffalo.[59] The worship of Mātrikās[60] (mother goddesses), especially at the time of marriage etc., was prevalent among the people. The mother goddesses were seven in number, namely, Brāhmī, Maheśvarī, Kaumarī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhi, Narasimhī and Aindrī. The worship of gentle goddesses like Ānanda Bhairavī, Tripura Sundarī and Lalitā etc. appealed more to the sexual instinct of men.[61]

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[54] EI, Vol. IX, p. 71 ; JASB, Vol. LV, part I, p. 30 ; EI, Vol. XI p. 32.

[55] PV, IV, 64-67 and V, 5.

[56] PV, V, 53 ; Tawney ; PC, p. 23.

[57] SJGM, Vol. II, pp. 101-02.

[58] EI, Vol. IX, pp. 71, 74 ; Vol. XII, p. 56.

The worshippers of Śakti were known as Śāktas. This mode of worship, which is known as Bhairavī-Chakra, was entirely free from caste restriction. The Śāktas were divided into two sects, viz., the Kaulikas and the Samayinas. The former took recourse to meat, fish, and wine etc., during the time of their worship of the female organ or its picture while the latter kept completely aloof from such hateful practices. The Karpūra-Mañjarī of Rājaśekhara, the celebrated poet at the Pratīhāra-court of Kanauj during the early 10th. century A.D., describes the Kaulamata (sect) as follows : " We have nothing to do with either ' Mantra-Tantra ' or the knowledge obtained from a teacher ; we take to wine and cohabitation and, through the maintenance of its tradition, we obtain the eternal bliss (Moksha). We make even a degraded woman our wife, take meat and drink wine. Whosoever would not like such a pleasing Kaulamata ?"[62]

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[59] Arch. Remains and Excavations at Sambar, pp. 21-22.

[60] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 57.

[61] Bhandarkar, Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Religious systems, pp. 142-46.

Synthesis of Sects.

Thus, during this period the number of gods and goddesses multiplied almost without any limit[63] and apparently Hinduism, as it was prevalent in the Chāhamāna territory, or for the matter of that, elsewhere in the country, looked like a bundle of numerous sects and subsects. But, inspite of these divisions, Hinduism did not lose its fundamental unity or universality, and, but for few exceptions of intolerance and prosecution, the worshippers of different sects in the country did not cherish much of ill-will amongst themselbes. They generally lived in peace and harmony and sometimes the members of the same family followed the tenets of different sects without any prejudice to their personal relations.

Among the deities, however, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva began to be treated as different aspects of the same Supreme Being, and, perhaps with a view to realizing this unity, king Someśvara established the statues of these three gods in the same temple at Ajmer.[64] This 'Trideva' worship is an indication that efforts were being made to evolve a synthesis of different creeds, resolve their differences and bring them together as far as possible. The Panchāyatana system of worship, or the Hindu Pantheon, in which Vishṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Devī and Gaṇeśa were worshipped together, was a further attempt towards this synthesis. That the Chāhamāna kings made an early attempt in this direction is amply borne out by the Harsha stone inscription (973 A. D.). We observe there that, beside, Gajānana, with whose adoration the inscription commences, the statues of Vikaṭa and the sons of Pāṇḍu were set up in rows of structures by the side of the statue of Harshanātha (Śiva), the main divinity of the place.[65] The Sevādī copper plates grant of king Ratnapāla opens with an obeisance to god Brahmā and states that the king, before issuing the grant, worshipped Śiva, the consort of Pārvatī and adorned Vishṇu who is said to be the greatest in the world.[66] In the Sundha hill inscription the Moon and Pārvatī with her other aspects also such as Chaṇḍikā, Chāmuṇḍā or Aghaṭeśvarī are praised, and mention is made of funds being granted for the god Vigrahāditya and a golden cupola (Kumbha) and a flag-staff (Dhvaja) being placed on the temple of the god Aparājiteśa.[67] A different inscription speaks of the worship of Kātyayanī and Kālī.[68]

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[62] Karpūra-Mañjarī, Javanikāntara I, verses 22-23 pp. 24-25. (Horward ed.) ; also see Ojha's Madhya Kālīna Bhāratīya Sanskriti, pp. 27-28.

[63] According to the Vīsaladeva Rāso, the number of gods reached the traditional figure of 330 millions. (II, 84).

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[64] PV, VIII, 68.

[65] IA, 1913, p. 57.

[66] EI, Vol. XI, p. 305.

[67] EI, Vol. IX, 71 and 74.

[68] ibid, Vol. XII, p. 56.

Thus there was witnessed a marked progress in the attempt to achieve a happy synthesis of different creeds and the Chāhamāna kings helped considerably towards the realization of the same. The Arab geographers of the 10th. and 11th. centuries A. D., however, failed to understand this fundamental unity in the midst of seeming diversity of Indian religious system. Accordingly, Ibn Khurdādba observes that 'in Hind there are forty-two religious sects.'[69] This is further echoed by Al Idrisi who states : "Among the principal nations of India there are forty-two sects. Some recognize the existence of a Creator, but not of prophets ; while others deny the existence of both. Some acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones, and others worship holy stones, on which butter and oil is poured. Some pay adoration to fire and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun, and consider it the creator and director of the world. Some worship trees ; others pay adoration to serpents which they keep in stables, and feed as well as they can, deeming this to be a meritorious work. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion and deny every thing."[70] The significance of the expression fortytwo sects appears to be that there were many sects which had been given the name of Hinduism.[71]

Temples and Idol-worship.

Idol-worship was getting greater prominence than any other form of worship and magnificent temples, called Devālaya or house of gods, accommodated beautiful statues of different gods. Every village and every town had the temples of various gods and goddesses. The temple-building activity of the Chāhamāna kings increased considerably and king Someśvara is said to have built so many temples in Gangānaka and other places that the population of the city of Gods dwindled away.[72] However, not only kings and queens but also rich merchants and even mendicant Brāhmaṇa ascetics who secured large donations made in reverence to their holy character[73] vied with one another in building superb and stupendous temples to their tutelary deities, chiefly Śiva and Vishṇu.

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[69] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 17.

[70] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 76.

[71] Vaidya : HMHI, Vol. II, p. 196.

It appears the idols in these temples were generally of stone, but sometimes they were made of silver, gold or precious stones as well. Regarding the comparative merit of such idols Al Beruni ovserves : " The benefit of a statue of precious stones will be common to all men and women of the empire. A golden statue will bring power to him who erected it, a statue of silver will bring him renown, one of bronze will bring him increase of his rule, one of stone the acquisition of landed property".[74] We are told that king Someśvara 'placed an effigy of his father on horse-back, with his own effigy in front, facing his father's in the newly built temple of Vaidyanātha which towered above all the temples in the vicinity.[75]

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[72] PV, VIII, 63-71 ; JRAS, 1913, p. 277.

[73] IA, 1913, p. 57.

[74] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, p. 121.

[75] PV, VIII, 65.

Describing the various modes of worship in temples Al Beruni states that the worshippers of these idols kill sheep and buffaloes with axe (Kuṭhāra) that they may nourish themselves with their blood '.[76] This statement, however, does not seem to be based on observation, for it could not apply to all gods, at least to those whose followers believed in 'Ahimsā' or non-slaughter and this animal sacrifice appears to have been taken from the Tantric worship of Devī.

As regards the daily worship of the idols, elaborate provisions were made and rich donees or royal grants provided wheat, ghee, munga-pulse, betel leaves and flowers etc. for the purpose. Further, aloe wood, camphor and saffron were used for the 'Aṅgabhoga' (unguents to be applied to the body immediately after bathing) of the idols.[77] Moreover, courtezans (Pramadākula) seem to have been attached to different temples for participation in the daily worship of the deity and whenever any festival of a particular god commenced, courtezans attached to the temples of other gods were also requisitioned to celebrate it 'by instrumental music, dancing, singing and so forth.'[78]

The account of a line of ascetics who were in charge of the temple of Harshanātha[79] indicates that 'maṭhas' were provided by the side of temples, perhaps in imitation of the Buddhist Vihāras, for the residence of the Vaishṇava or Śaiva hermits. This custom appears to

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76. Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, p. 120.
77. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 55-57; BG. Vol. I, part I, pp. 474-88.
78. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 26-27.
79. IA, 1913, pp. 57-64.

be an old one, at least as old as the 6th. or 7th. century A. D., for the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang noticed Śaiva anchorites and Jain ascetic living in their respective 'maṭhas' or temples.[80] We gather further information from Al Beruni with regard to the worshippers of different gods. He says: "To the idol of Vishṇu are devoted the class called Bhāgavata, to the idol of the Sun, the Maga, to the idol of Mahādeva, a class of saints, anchorites with long hair, who cover their skin with ashes, hang on their persons the bones of dead people and swim in pools."[81] Sometime shalls, called Vyākhyānaśālā, were also provided within the temple premises which were obviously used for preaching purposes.[82]

Rites and Festivals.

The Āgamas and other scriptures elaborated details relating to the worship of gods and prescribed different modes of worship for each of them. This religious literature further gave rise to the multiplication of rites and rituals, ceremonies and festivals of religious character. Consequently, ceremonies concerning various kinds of gifts, marriage and 'Śrāddha' etc. became highly complicated and elaborate and there was left no more the religious simplicity of the Vedic age. Navarātra-Pūjana, Pitri-piṇḍa and Śrāddha etc. became common rites among the people.[83] Chūḍākaraṇa of boys was

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[80] Vaidya : HMHI, Vol. I, p. 109.

[81] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, p. 121.

[82] EI, Vol. II, p. 310.

[83] Tawney, PC, p. 23 ; Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 53 and 56.

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also an important rite.[84] A reference to the heavy religious duties of all the resident Brāhmaṇas of a great Brāhmaṇa village in the Sevādī copper plates grant of king Ratnapāla,[85] indicates perhaps that the Brāhmaṇas in this age of rites and rituals, were the most occupied class from the view-points of their daily religious duties and, as priests, they helped the members of other communities in the performance of their religious rites in accordance with the new Āgamas or the amplified Purāṇas.

Similarly, festivals and days of fasting multiplied and literary as well as epigraphic records speak of a number of them, such as Dipotsava, Mahāśivarātri, Vasanta, Holi, Akshaya-Tritiyā, Tīja, Rathayātrā or Yātrāmahotsava and Śrāvaṇī Chaturdaśī etc.[86] Al Beruni also describes these festivals and many more,[87] most of which are still observed to this day. Some of the festivals were celebrated with great joy and merry-making and people granted various kinds of gifts to Brāhmaṇas and others. On the days of fasting, however, which were sacred to particular gods, people observed fast, prayed and meditated and made offerings to obtain blessings of gods and pious Brāhmaṇas. Ekādaśi (eleventh day of each fortnight) was one such day of fasting and prayer, and Prithvīrāja III is said to have broken this fast on the fateful day of the battle of Tarain[88] (1192 A. D.).

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[84] PV, VIII, 45.

[85] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 304-11.

[86] ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 63, 74; Vol. XI, pp. 41, 43, 54, 56, 58 ; Vīsaladeva Rāso, III, 13-14, 87.

[87] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. II, pp. 178-184.

Holy Places.

In the religious life of the people a great importance began to be attached to the 'Tirthas' or holy places and Pushkara, which was a religious centre in the kingdom of Ajmer, became a place of pilgrimage and attracted a large number of pilgrims from different corners of the kingdom. Somanātha, which was in the kingdom of Gujrat, seems to have attracted a large number of pilgrims from the kingdom of Ajmer and, in order to extend facilities to them, king Prithvīrāja I got an alms-house (Anna-satra) built on the road of Somanātha[89] where probably food was served to pilgrims free of cost. People went to Gayā and Vārāṇasī also for pilgrimage.[90] Besides the worship of gods, a visit to these places in itself was considered a means of salvation and people flocked in thousands to these and other religious centres from every corner of the kingdom to pay their homage and prayers to their favourite deity. People vied with one another in digging tanks and wells for the comforts of the pilgrims because these acts were deemed highly meritorious and pious.

Abuses.

Hinduism had its dark and ugly features as well. This aspect is associated with voluptuous habits and immoral deeds even within the premises of the temples of gods. This might have been caused mostly by the accumulation of wealth and luxuries in temples which must have had some adverse moral influence on the people who were in charge of them. It is but natural that, rolling in luxuries, the worshippers, who were after all human beings, sometimes failed to resist worldly temptations and fell an easy prey to immoral practices. The association of courtezans (Pramadākula) with some temples[91] must have further resulted in licentiousness among the inmates of the temples. The softening influence of the cult of devotion appears to have helped such practices to grow more within the temples and outside the temples. The Rādhā-cult, which was just beginning to grow by the end of the period, taught the people the 'amours of Śrīkrishṇa with the Gopīs and even the Bhāgavata, the chief new Purāṇa teaching the Vaishṇava cult, could not but depict these amours in their objectionable character, concealed in later times under the allegorical cloack Vedānta.[92] Some obscure and obscene cults, on the other hand, openly preached immorality, and, strangely enough, the members of the Kaula sect deemed cohabitation and wine as a means of salvation.[93]

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[88] Tawney : PC, p. 190.

[89] PV, V, 82.

[90] Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 10 and 35.

Superstitions.

Superstitions seem to have been an integral part of Hindu society. The use of 'Yantras' was a common practice to ward off evil spirits. We learn from the

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[91] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 26-27.

[92] Vaidya : HMHI, Vol. III, p. 401.

[93] Karpūra Mañjarī I, 23.

Prithvīrāja Vijaya that during the childhood of Prithvīrāja III a necklace, containing a tiger's claw and illustrations of the ten incarnations of Lord Vishṇu, was placed round his neck to avoid evil sights.[94] The same work further speaks of the itching of the right eye which was supposed to be a good omen.[95] According to the Gauḍavaho, people sometimes took to human sacrifice also to please their favourite deity.[96] People believed in the efficacy of different applications said to possess supernatural powers, and, according to the Surthotsava-Kāyva of Someśvara, kings made application of 'Kṛityā' (Māraṇa) over their enemies with a view to achieving victory and used 'Mantras' for the healing up of wounds.[97]

Flights of different birds and movements of various animals such as fox, cat, jackal, lion, deer and serpent etc. to the right or left were indicative of omens, good or bad.[98] The Arab geographer Abu Zaid speaks of those who draw omens from the flights of crows.'[99] It appears people dreaded different kinds of spirits,[100] both male and female, and, conscious of their strength, evil or good, they tried to please them by chanting of 'mantras', worships or sacrifices. Sorceresses were feared in society and people avoided their presence as

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94. PV, VIII, 43-44.
95. Ibid, XII; 52.
96. Quoted by Dr. Ojha in his 'Madhya Kālīna Bhāratīya Sanskriti', p. 62.
97. ibid, p. 62.
98. Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 75-76.
99. Elliot ; Vol. I, p. 10 ; also Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 75.
100. Vīsaladeva Rāso II, 31.

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an evil spirit. An evil eye was a common belief while sneezing in the front was an inauspicious sign.[101] Similarly some significance was attached to sudden movement, or itching, in some particular part of one's body also.[102]

ADVENT OF ISLAM

A passing reference may be made here of Islam, the militant creed of the Arabs who had come to stay on the borders of the Chāhamāna kingdom in the 1st. quarter of the 8th. century A. D. But the Arabs failed to extend their religion beyond Sindh and Multan and the Chāhamānas of Śākambaharī along with Guhilots of Mewar and the Pratīhāras of Ujjain, who, later on, became an imperial power ruling from Kanauj, played a considerable part in opposing the further extension of the arms of Islam in their respective territories. Even when the Yamini dynasty of Ghazni conquered Sindh, Multan and Punjab and thus there existed a long common frontier with the Chāhamāna kingdom of Ajmer, Islam failed to have a footing in the latter territory. However, there appears to have been at least some solitary or temporary settlements[103] of the Musalmans in the kingdom of Ajmer where they often came as traders.[104] But, from the contemptuous reference to Turks in all the Chāḥamāna records—both literary and epigraphic.—it is apparent that the Chāhamāna kings were strongly opposed and hostile to Islamic faith in any shape or form and never allowed its followers a permanent foot-hold on their soil. By the end of the 12th. century, however, Muslim rule was established in the kingdom of Ajmer and elsewhere in the country and hence forth Islamic faith became a permanent feature of Indian religious life.

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[101] ibid, II, 56 and 76.

[102] ibid, III, 14 and 78.

[103] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 43.

[104] Horse-dealers from the north, which apparently formed a part of the kingdom of Ghazni, are referred to have come to Ajmer where they seem to have been offered necessary protection for their trade. (IA, 1913, p. 60).

CHAPTER XIV

ECONOMIC LIFE.

The spiritual culture of India has never stood in the way of her material progress. It is true that Indian thinkers and philosophers of all ages laid greater stress on spiritual attainment, renunciation or self-mortification, but, all the same, the material advancement of the country was hardly neglected, and, during different ages of her history, India was noted for her wealth and riches. That the country was prosperous is amply borne out, not only through the records of foreign travellers who visited the country from time to time, but also through various works of art and architecture, especiallyt in the form of temples, the specimens of which lie scattered all over the country even to this day. During the early medieval period vast riches lay accumulated in some of the important temples and towns in the country, which invited more than once the greed of foreigners to plunder and loot them. However, this indicates that the country was fairly happy and prosperous and people vied with one another in making offerings of wealth to their favourite gods. The country was rich in resources and raw materials and various occupations, like agriculture and industries, trade and commerce etc. were open to the people for earning their honest penny.

BASES OF ECONOMIC LIFE.

Agriculture.

The real source of wealth of the Chāhamāna kingdom of Ajmer was her age-old occupation of agriculture, and she was, as she is still today, mostly an agricultural country during the period under review. The vast majority of the people regarded this occupation as an honourable means of livelihood, and hence they took to it in right earnestness. Among the important crops were wheat and barley, rice and maize, pulse and munga, Jwar and bajra, grams and ground-nuts, peas and oil-seeds etc.,[1] which were grown in abundance. The state paid special attention to the needs and requirements of agriculturists and seems to have provided canals for the development of crops in different parts.[2] Enormous tanks and artificial lakes were also constructed, in which water was accumulated either from rivers or during the rains, and, beside its various other uses, water was distributed to meet the agricultural needs of formers as well. King Arṇorāja made a very big artificial lake, called the Ānāsāgara[3], while his son Vīsaladeva is credited to have constructed the famous Vīsalasara[4] at Ajmer. The rich and liberal people deemed it meritorious to dig small tanks or ponds,[5] and, although their main purpose appears to be religious, their utilitarian aspects from the view-point of agriculture can be hardly denied. Where tanks and canals were not possible, for the Chāhamāna kingdom had few big rivers, numerous wells were dug which were generally furnished with machines (Arahaṭa)[6] for facilitating a rapid distribution of water to crops. These watering facilities must have encouraged agriculture and chances of famine were thus reduced to their minimum.

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[1] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 26 ff ; Vīsaladeva Rāso, III, 7, 15, 32, 55 and 81.

[2] We learn from the Rājatarangiṇī of Kalhaṇa that once when there was a great flood in Kashmir, its king Avantivarman asked his engineer, named Sūya, to make immediate arrangements for relieving the people of their distress. The royal engineer got a big dam constructed on the banks of the Jhelam and immediately canals were joined to that embankment. Then after a close survey of the requirements of water in each village for the development of agricultural produce, he made necessary provisions which resulted in huge production and the price of a certain amount of rice, which formerly cost 200 dinars, fell to 36 dinars only. (cited by Dr. Ojha in his Madhya Kālīna Bhāratīya Sanskriti, pp. 163-64).

[3] PV, VI, 21-25.

Industries.

Industries formed an important part of the kingdom's economic stability. These were mostly coming down from generation to generation, and, as they contributed considerably to the state exchequer, the state generally respected their laws and other rules and regulations. Various literary and epigraphical references to oil-machines, Rathakāras (cart-builders), wood-cutters, Tāmbulikas (betel-sellers), Mālākāras (grardeners) and Kalālas (sellers of spirituous liquors) bear testimony to the existence of their respective industries in the kingdom.[7] Big blocks of white stone used in building houses in the city of Ajmer[8] and also elsewhere and in the construction of temples and forts indicate that stone-cutting industry was in a flourishing state and the artisans of Sambhar specialized in the cutting and polishing of such hard stones as carnelian white crystal etc.[9] As arms and iron implements, metal utensils, and ornaments of gold and silver were in great demand,[10] workers in different metals must have ecquired proficiency in their respective trade. Al Beruni refers to industries like shoemaking, basket and shield making, fishery and weaving.[11] Industries like pottery and dyeing provided articles of daily use.[12] The town of Sambhar was an important industrieal centre and its artisans specialized particularly in the manufacture of ornamental pottery, couch and such other objects.[13] The Sambhar lake offered a good opportunity for the growth of salt industry in the kingdom.[14]

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[4] Prithvīrāja Rāso, Adi Parva, verse 364.

[5] Jagādu Charita, canto I ; also NPP, Vol. IV (new ed.) p. 215.

[6] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 28, 32 and 49.

[7] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 35, 41 and 43 ; Vīsaladeva Rāso, II, 41, 60, 73, 76 and, III, 57.

[8] JRAS, 1913, p. 273.

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Cattle Farming.

The mountaneous and forest regions offered facilities for cattle-farming. Among the cattle, the cows and buffaloes, sheep and goat and other domesticated animals figured most. Although the tending of cattle was one of the main occupations among the mountaineers, it must have been only a side one with the people in the plains, who had a number of other occupations which were more paying and profitable from purely economic points of view.

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[9] Arch. Remains and Excavations at Sambhar, p. 54.

[10] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 22, 26, 28, 31, 58 and 72.

[11] Sachau : Al Beruni's India, Vol. I, p. 101.

[12] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 48 and II, 24.

[13] Arch. Remains and Excavations at Sambhar, p. 54.

[14] PV, V, 1-3 and IA, 1913, p. 60.

Primitive Survivals.

Besides, several primitive occupations, still surviving, included hunting and fishing, collecting of herbs and wood, fruits and roots and many more. These occupations, as their nature indicates, were followed either by the aborigines or low caste people, for they were not at all deemed among such professions as were worthy of high-born people in society. These primitive occupations were, however, a poor source of maintenance and, as they could not fetch a handsome income, they ever remained unattractive and unalluring.

Trade and Commerce.

After agriculture, the most important source of national wealth was trade and commerce. From ancient times India had a very brisk trade both inland and seaborne. The former was carried on by caravans of camels (Sārtha-Ushṭra), bullocks or other beasts of burden and carts which moved from place to place and from city to city in large numbers carrying various varieties of cargoes with them.[15] Sometimes, they crossed the borders and went beyond to foreign lands to make enormous profit on their goods which were much in demand there.[16] Another important route of inland trade was the great river system in this country. But, as the Chāhamāna kingdom of Ajmer did not have large or numerous rivers, it could not obviously make much use of them for the expansion of its trade. As regards the sea-borne trade, it may be pointed out that the kingdom of Ajmer, being practically a land-locked country, did not have much of sea-borne trade either. However, the merchants sometimes went to the sea ports of Gujrat from where they moved beyond the seas to foreign lands also.[17] But this activity must have been very limited on account of the very nature of the kingdom and even this little sea-borne trade might have often been in serious jeopardy when a state of war existed between the rival kingdoms of Ajmer and Gujrat.

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[15] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 38, 42, 58.

[16] NPP, Vol. IV, part II (new ed.) p. 218.

Commercial Commodities.

A wide range of commercial commodities indicates the economic prosperity of the kingdom. The country was far-famed from time immemorial for her fine varieties of silk muslin and printed cloths which were much in demand in foreign countries also.[18] Other commodities consisted of dry ginger, gum, black pepper and coriander etc.[19] The Chāhamāna kingdom was very rich in salt which was obtained from the Sambhar lake.[20] Besides salt, the inland trade consisted of different kinds of grains which were carried for sale from place to place by Vaṇijjārakas on pack-bulls, carts or camels.[21]

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[17] The Jagaḍūcharita speaks of Indian ships full of cargoes going upto Aden, the great sea port of Arabia (Jagadū Charita, canto IV.) ; NPP, Vol. IV, part II, (new ed.) p. 218.

[18] Ojha : Madhya Kālīna Bhāratīya Sanskriti, p. 167.

[19] EI, Vol. XI, p. 42.

[20] The Prithvīrāja Vijaya is eloquent in the praise of this lake which promised great material and spiritual benefits to the kingdom of Śākambharī, (PV, IV, 80-88).

[21] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 38, 42 and 58.

Ghrita, Naivedya, mūnga, aloe wood, camphor, saffron, flowers, betel-leaves and betel-nuts, which were ordinarily required for the worship of gods,[22] were also added in the list of articles of sale and purchase. Numerous references to oil-machines[23] indicate that oil of various varieties was sold in the market. Among other commodities of trade were articles of iron such as arms, agricultural implements and building materials, utensils of different metals and beautiful ornaments of gold, silver and even of base metals.[24]

The state, whose economic stability depended much on trade and commerce, appears to have offered all possible facilities as well as protection to traders and business men. The state made ample provisions for the safety of traders from such undesirable elements as thieves, robbers and others.[25] Transit dues were levied on every article of trade going out or coming in either in cash or kind at the Śulkamaṇḍapikās or octroi posts.[26] The state derived further income from all the commodities which were sold in the mrarket. Bāzār-buildings or ware-houses were provided to dealers either by the state or guilds of traders.[27] We may, however, point out to one great draw-back in connection with trade and commerce. The country was divided into a number of kingdoms and the caravans, passing from one state to another, must have been required to pay customs dues to each of them. This could only result in the shooting up of prices of all articles including the necessaries as well. But, barring this, the state did not hinder or handicap the trade in any shape or form.

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[22] EI, Vol. XI, p. 56 ; BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 474 ff.

[23] EI, Vol. XI, p. 35, 41.

[24] Vīsaladeva Rāso, I, 22, 26, 28, 31, 58 and 72.

[25] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 38-39.

[26] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 36 and 58.

[27] ibid, p. 60.

Śreṇī or Guild System.

The commercial communities, in order to safeguard and promote their interests, formed themselves into different corporations or guilds which were called the Śreṇī, Vyavahārījana-Śreṇī or Deśī.[28] Epigraphical evidence brings to light the existence of Śrī Bhammaha Deśī (guild) at Śākambharī,[29] or the assembling together in a Deśī of the Vaṇijjārakas of Abhinavapurī, Badari and Nadlāi in the kingdom of Naḍḍūla.[30] The Nadlāi stone inscription of king Rāyapāla.[31] indicates that such a Śreṇī of tradesmen meant 'a corporation of people belonging to the same or different castes, but following the same trade and industry,' and as it was joined by traders of different towns or places, the membership of the Śreṇī must have often been fairly large. In order to carry out smoothly the business of the Śreṇī, the members seem to have formed an executive, called Goshṭhī, whose members were known as Goshṭhika.[32] With regard to their duties and responsibilities, the Goshṭhikas appear to have been 'bound by laws and usages of the corporation,' and assisted the President of the Śreṇī who was variously known as Sanghapati, Sanghādhipati or Śreshṭhin.[33] This honour used to go to the most respectable member of the community, and, by virtue of his high position, he wielded considerable influence not only upon the guild of which he was the head, but also in political field where he had a strong voice.

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[28] Jagaḍū Charita, canto VI ; NPP Vol. IV, part II (new ed.) p. 222 ; IA, 1913, p. 60 ; EI, Vol. XI, p. 42.

[29] IA, 1913, p. 60.

[30] EI, Vol. XI, p. 42.

[31] ibid, pp. 42-43.

[32] समस्त गोष्ठिक समुदाय समन्वितेनश्री श्रीमालवंशविभूषण श्रेष्ठि यशोदेव सुतेन EI, Vol. XI, p. 53 and also p. 56.

The real power of the Śreṇī was vested in the executive which exercised great authority over the individual members and, according to Vrihaspati, 'if an individual failed to perform his share of agreement, though able to do the same, he was punished by the confiscation of his entire property and by banishment from the town.'[34] However, inspite of the authority and influence exercised by the executive over the members, the guilds were distinguished for their democratic functioning and 'the most characteristic element in the whole system was the ultimate responsibility of the executive officers to the assembly.'[35]

The number of Śreṇīs multiplied according to the varieties of trade and industry, for every community was zealous to have its own guild. Thus, beside Śrī Bhammaha Deśī,[36] we learn of the guilds of traders

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[33] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 32, 39, 53, 56 and 60; NPP, Vol. IV, part II, p. 222 (new ed.)

[34] Majumdar : Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 18.

[35] Majumdar : Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 21.

[36] It was the name of a particular guild located at Sākambharī in the middle of the 10th. century A.D. (IA, 1913, p. 60).

(Vyavahārijanaśreṇī), corn-dealers (Vaṇijjārakas), oil-millers (Tailika-śreṇī), gardeners (Mālika-śreṇī), horse-dealers (Uttarāpathīya Heḍavikas), betel-sellers (Tāmbulikas), distillers of spirituous liquors, butchers and many more.[37] Most of the Śreṇīs had their own assembly halls where the members assembled to transact business appertaining to their respective guild. The sound of a drum or other instrument was a signal for the attendance of members in the guild hall for the transaction of the affairs of the community.[38]

The main duty of the Śreṇī was to speed up production and look after distribution and consumption of goods. The representatives of the Śreṇī took their seats in the village or district councils and had the privilege of advising kings and princes in matters relating to trade and commerce.[39] Kings treated the Śreṇīs with due respect and honoured their usages. Nārada is of the opinion that 'whatever be their laws, their (religious) duties, (the rule regarding) their attendance, and the (particular mode of) livelihood prescribed for them, that the king shall approve of.'[40] As a matter of fact, 'a king could only interfere with them in some specific cases, but otherwise they were free to act in whatever way they liked, and the king was bound to accept their decision.'[41]

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37. Jagaḍū Charita, VI, 69 ; NPP, (new ed.) Vol. IV, part II, pp. 223-24 ; EI, Vol. XI, pp. 25, 38, 41, 42 and 43 ; IA 1913, p.60 Dr. R. S. Tripathi : History of Kanauj, pp. 345-46.
38. Vīra Mitrodaya, edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, p. 430.
39. Ojha : Madhya Kālīna Bhārtīya Samskriti, p. 170.
40. Nārada : X, 2-3.
41. Majumdar : Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 23.

The activity of the guild, besides its own field of trade and commerce, 'was extended to a variety of objects of public utility, such as the construction of a house of assembly, of a shed for (accomodating travellers with) water, a temple, a pool, and a garden; they also helped the poor people to perform the 'Samskāras' or sacrificial acts as enjoined by the sacred texts.'[42]

Banking.

The traditional banking system of India has been to convert money into ornaments and other valuables. This system, however, is unscientific, for it brings no profit, but a gradual loss, on the money so invested. The Śreṇīs, on the other hand, served the function of modern banks.[43] They arranged loan on crecdit to industrialists, business magnates or others who sought for it. Money was also deposited with the guilds, on which the depositor earned a fixed interest. Epigraphical evidence reveals that money was deposited in the treasury of gods, out of which were defrayed the expenses of the 'divasabali,' (daily worship) and so forth.' This arrangement was looked after by the 'Vyāsas', the 'aboṭīs', the Śreshṭhis and the members of the 'Goshṭhī'.[44] Inscriptions further refer to the whole class of bankers or individual local bankers.[45] These bankers were known as the 'Mahājanas'[46] who were, by profession, big tradesmen or industrialists. It would be, therefore, pertinent to infer from these evidences that, while the Śreṇīs served the purpose of banking corporations in the country, individual banking was conducted by the Mahājanas of the locality. The latter carried on regular money-lending business and earned considerable interest thereby. It is, however, uncertain whether, as in earlier ages, these banking corporations were authorised by the state to mint coins during this period also, though it is highly probable that sometimes they were.[47]

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[42] ibid, p. 17 ; Jagaḍū-Charita, canto VI, NPP, (new ed.) Vol. IV, part II, pp. 222-23.

[43] Ojha : Madhya Kālina Bhāratīya Samskriti, p. 170.

[44] EI, Vol. XI, p. 56 ; BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 474 ff.

[45] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 39 and 58.

[46] ibid, pp. 39 and 58.

Fairs

In the development of internal trade religious fairs[48] festivals[49] or village markets also played an important part. Besides their religious significance as well as educative and entertaining value, the religious fairs attracted a large number of traders from different parts of the country who brought a large variety of articles for sale there. The small village-markets served the needs of the people of nearly villages who gathered there on certain days in the week to purchase the articles of their daily use. Sometimes animal fairs[50] were also held where different animals of good breed assembled in large numbers. This offered an apportunity to the people to purchase the animal of their choice.

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[47] We have hazarded to arrive at this inference on account of the fact that kings generally did not show much interest in the minting of coins which are by themselves a valuable commodity for the development of trade and commerce. They seem to have, therefore, deligated this authority to Śreṇis to mint coins on behalf of the state.

[48] IHQ, December, 1935, p. 781.

[49] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 32, 41 and 56.

[50] Ibid, Vol. XI, p. 32; IA, 1913, p. 60

Weights and Measurements

We come across a number of weights and measurements which were prevalent in the country to weigh or measure articles of daily use, and whose correct measurement was guaranteed by the state. Thus Kūṭaka appears to be a measurement of salt and such other things.[51] Palikā and Kalaśa were measurements of capacity and, while the former was used to measure oil,[52] the latter is associated with the weighing of ghee.[53] Wheat and barley etc. were weighed against Hāraka.[54] There were other weights of different denominations for weighing small or big quantities of grain and the like. They were :[55]

4 Paila=1 Pailī
5 Pailī=1 Māṇā
6 Māṇā=1 Seī
2 Seī =1 maund.

Hāela was a measurement of land and amounted to as much land as could be tilled by a single plough in one day.[56]

Currency and Exchange

Exchange by barter was an age-old tradition of the country. Even the state officials were sometimes paid in kind and the same system was adopted for the realization of the state revenue as well. This resulted in the general reduction of the need for coins which were consequently minted in insufficient quantities. However, coins of different denominations, but of standard weight, were also in use and were made mostly of gold, silver and copper etc.[57]

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[51] ibid, 1913, p. 60.

[52] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 35 and 41.

[53] ibid, p. 60.

[54] ibid, pp. 28 and 49.

[55] ibid, pp. 41, 42, 50, 56.

[56] EI, Vol. XI, p. 47.

The non-existence of the coins of the earlier kings of the Chāhamāna dynasty, who ruled their kingdom from Śākambharī (Sambhar) indicates that either those kings were not at all interested in the minting of coins for circulation in their kingdom or, as they were till the middle of the 10th. century A. D. only a vassal power owing allegiance to the Pratihāras of Kanauj, they were not entitled to do so. Whatever be the reason, there appears to be a general apathy even on th part of the early independent kings of this dynasty towards issuing new coins of their own in large numbers. But since the time of king Ajayarāja II (c. 1110-35 A. D.) we come across a good quantity of Chāhamāna coins. " Slver and copper coins of Ajayadeva with an effigy of a seated goddess on the obverse, and the inscription ' Śrī Ajayadeva' on the reverse are frequently met with in Rajasthan, Mathura and other places.[58] From an unpublished inscription it appears that the coins of this king were in circulation in the kingdom even during the reign of his grand son king Someśvara (c. 1169-78 A. D.).[59] King Ajayarāja II seems to have had a special fondness for the minting of coins and we learn from the Prithvīrāja Vijya that ' he filled the earth with rūpakas made of Durvarṇa (silver) '. and again he is said to have taken away the fame of the past and future kings by ' Rūpakas ' dear to him.[60]

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[57] IA, 1912, p. 209-11 ; PV, V, 88-90.
BG, Vol. I, part I, 486-88.

[58] IA, 1912, p. 209.

His zeal for new coins was shared by his queen Somalekhā or Somaladevī who is credited to have struck new ' rūpaka ' (coins) every day.[61] Luckily, some silver coins of this queen have been discovered which bear, on the obverse, a degraded representation of the type 'king's head ', and on the reverse the inscription Śrī Somaladevī or Śrī Somalladevī in Nagari characters. Her copper coins have, on the other hand, on the obverse the effigy of a horseman. which generally appears on the coins of the Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer and on the reverse the inscription Śrī Somaladevī or Srī Somalladevī.[62] The silver and copper coins of queen Somaladevī are of different design and they both differ from those of her husband in type.[63] These are among the rare coins which have been strcuk by a queen in India.

During the reign of king Vigraharāja IV (Vīsaladeva) coins were continued to be minted at the royal mint and the reference in a Bhinmal inscripion of 200 Vīsala Pri (Priya) drammas in gold[64] may indicate that gold coins were also struck by that king. However, a large number of the 'Bull and Horseman'[65] type of coins of the time of king Someśvara and his son Prithvīrāja III have been discovered in a number of places. These coins bear, on the reverse, the legend 'Āsāvarī Śrī Sāmantadeva'.[66] As this legend is not found on the coins of the earlier kings, in all likelihood, king Someśvara and Prithvīrāja III seem to have developed it from the legend 'Śrī Sāmantadeva' found inscribed on the coins of the Tomara kings of Delhi.[67] This finds further support from the fact that as the Chāhamānas succeeded the Tomaras on the throne of Delhi, they would have also inherited this legned from them with their own addition, of course, of Āsāvarī which appears to be only a corrupt form of Āśāpurī, the family deity of the Chāhamānas of Ajmer. Generally, the coins of these kings are of silver and copper though there are a few gold coins also. Later on, when the kingdom of Ajmer and Delhi passed on into the hands of Sultan Shahab-ud-din Ghori, in the beginning he adopted his earliest coins to these of established popularity and struck his

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[59] तत्काल वर्त्तमान रौप्यमय श्री अजयदेव मुद्रांकित दन्म पोडश
Noticed in RMR, 1923, p. 2.

[60] PV, V, 88-89.

[61] ibid, V, 90.

[62] IA, 1912, p. 210.

[63] ibid, 1912, p. 211.

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64. BG, Vol. I, part I, pp. 486-88.
65. Originally, however, the 'Bull and Horseman' type of coins were struck by the Brāhmaṇa Sāhī kings of Kabul and from those coins it was later on copied by the kings of the ruling dynasties of Delhi, Ajmer and other places .
66. CCIM, pp. 257 and 261.
67. JBAS, Vol. XLIII, part I, plate X.
    EI, Vol. XII, p. 224, footnote 4.

gold, silver and copper coins much in imitation of those of king Prithvīrāja III.[68]

The Chāhamāna coins were generally known as 'Dramma'[69] and were made of both gold and silver. Perhaps the modern rupee (rūpayā) owes its derivation to 'Rūā, which was then a prevalent coin.[70] 'Vinśopaka'[71] Drāela[72] and Bhīmapriya Vinśopaka[73] seem to be coins of small denomination which were put into currency for the facility of exchange. The last, however, appears to be a Chaulukyan coin either struck by, or named after, king Bhīmadeva II (c. 1178-12 2 A. D.) of Gujrat and was prevalent in Marwar.

We may, in the end, venture to conclude that general economic condition of the Chāhamāna kingdom was fairly sound and the people were, on the whole, happy

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68. The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi P. 7, Nos. 10-13 and 17-19.

Those of his coins, on the other hand, which bear the legend 'Srī Mahamad Sām' on the obverse and 'Srī Prithvīrājadeva on the reverse, (ibid, p. 12, No. 36 A) may indicate that perhaps the former intended in the beginning to treat the latter as a vassal ruler with himself as his suzerain and allow him on the throne of Ajmer on paymet of annual tribute and other dues, as he actually did in the case of his son Govindarāja when Prithvīrāja was put to death (Elliot, Vol. II, P. 215-16).

69. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 32, 44, 47 and 56.

70. EI, Vol. XI, p. 42.

71. IA, 1913, p, 60 ; EI, Vol. XI, p. 41.

Vinśopaka was perhaps one-twentieth of the rupee prevalent then (EI, Vol. XI, p. 41).

72. ibid, p. 51.

73. ibid, p. 59-60.

and prosperous. There were a number of flourishing towns and industrial centres which were full of wealth and riches and wealthy people, living therein a life of ease and luxury, vied with one another in the distribution of alms and charity in huge quantity. This, however, does not mean that there were no paupers, no poor people and the kingdom was a part of Paradise on earth. But, all the same, there appears to be no groaning poverty and starvation did not stare the people in their face. Even the common man had ample opportunities to earn his honest penny in order to live and move and have his being in peace.

Jayānaka, the author of the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya, gives a pen picture of the increasing prosperity of the city of Ajmer, and, although his description is poetic wherein he takes delight in his flights on the wings of imagination, it does deserve our notice to form an idea of the general economic prosperity of the kingdom as a whole. Accordingly, the town of Ajmer was full of magnificent temples and " from its lofty houses one could pick up the stars like flowers, can bow to the celestial river and can listen to the Seven Sages reciting the Vedas in the evening . . . . .Baories, wells, lakes and water depots are full of water. People sitting in Jharokhās enjoy the cool breezes of the Ganges of Paradise . . . . . .The perfumed incense, burnt by ladies to dry their hair, gathers in thick clouds and hides the moon. The increasing prosperity of the city has laid low the pride of the city of Indra . . . . .Lovers exchange excellent repartees. Servants laugh at nurses when the latter cry out at children laying their hands on lamps of jewels. The big blocks of white stone used in building houses in this city make the black spots in the moon appear white by reflected light. The camphor and musk which drop from the bodies of the citizens in the streets make the clothes of passers-by white-black."[74] Almost a similar description of the fountains and gardens, birds and flowers in Ājmer is recorded by Hasan Nizami in his Taj-ul Ma Āsir. He further tells us that in Ajmer the victorious army of Islam " obtained so much booty and wealth, that you might have said that the secret depositories of the seas and hills had been revealed."[75]

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74. PV, VIII 91-192 ; JRAS, 1913, pp. 272-73.

75. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 215.

CHAPTER XV

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit language has been the vehicle of expression in India from the earliest times. But, with the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, and particularly the former, Sanskrit received a definite set-back, although it never ceased to be the language of the country, and orthodox Hindus expressed their views, or composed their works, on a variety of subjects in this very language. Later on, with the revival of Hinduism which reached its climax during the Gupta age, it attained the high watermark of its progress, and Prākṛita, with its various forms, fell in disuse as vehicle of literary expression except their use as dialects in Sanskrit dramas. As a matter of fact the disappearance of Buddhism and the revival of Hinduism with its deep philosophic interpretations by Śankarāchārya and his followers was not merely a social or religious revolution which changed the face of the Hindu society to a considerable extent, but it was also a great literary transition. Sanskrit again took its rightful place in the domain of literature and even the Buddhist and Jain writers adopted Sanskrit as the medium of their expression.

The position of ascendancy acquired by Sanskrit language during the Gupta age was maintained unimapaired in the period under review. It received patronage from kings who raised it to the privileged position of a state language in their kingdoms. Moreover, being the language of the learned, the scholars and the poets, it also served as the lingua franca of the country for all practical purposes and was the medium of instruction in different branches of learning. However, as a highly developed language, it was bound centuries ago with the most elaborate rules of grammar by Pāṇini and, although no attempt was made in subsequent ages to improve upon them, great care was taken during our period to enhance its beauty and grace. The age witnessed a huge literary output of a high order, and eminent scholars and poets throughout the country wielded their graceful pens and enriched the vocabulary of the language to a considerable extent.

The Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer patronized Sanskrit learning and literature and maintained at their court a galaxy of scholars and poets of high repute. They were offered all possible facilities for the cultivation and development of their faculties and were offten maintained at the court at state expense. The poets received ample rewards for their sweet and melodious compositions with which they entertained the kings and the courtiers every now and then. Sometimes, poets and scholars participated in literary discussions of a high order which were generally presided over by the king himself or some high minister of the state. The learned 'pandits' or poets of the court assisted him in awarding the decision and the winner received, as a mark of honour, a certificate of victory (vijaya-Patra) from the hands of the king himself.[1]

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[1] Jinapālodaya Sūri : Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvalī (p. 22 b).

It was this policy of patronizing poets that the Chāhamāna court attracted men of learning from different corners of the country and during the reign of king Prithvīrāja III Jayānaka, a Kashmirian poet of great renown and author of the Prithvīrāja Vijaya, came to Ajmer where he was duly received and rewarded by the king.

Moreover, the Chāhamāna kings evinced great enthusiasm for the spread of Sanskrit learning. King Vigraharāja IV, who was himself a great scholar of Sanskrit literature, founded the famous temple of learning (Sarasvatī-Mandira) at Ajmer.[2] This college, far renowned as it was, must have attracted a good number of students in the town of royal residence. Besides, various schools and colleges in different parts of the kingdom appear to have been subsidised by the state. Temples were a further attraction and they were not merely so many seats of worship in the realm, but they also accommodated renowned panditas, far famed for their learning and scholarship[3], and people, in quest of learning, flocked there to acquire knowledge at their feet where education was imparted free of cost.

The courses of study included, besides ordinary lessons in the three R's, the study of the Vedas and Vedāngas, the sacred lore of Itihāsa (epic poems), Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa, Bhārata; 'the Smritis of Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, Bhrigu, Angiras, and Markaṇḍa'; the six Darśanas, beginning with Bhaṭṭadarśana (Pūrva

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[2] This building was later converted into a mosque by the victorious Turks and came to be called Adhā--din-kā-Jhonprā.

[3] IA, 1913, p. 60.

Mimānsā) and other sciences'.[4] The performance of sacrificial rites 'prescribed in the Yajurveda, such as Avasathya (sacred domestic fire), Agnihotra (daily offering to fire), Agnishṭoma (litturgical rite in the Soma sacrifice), Sautramaṇi (rite sacred to Sutramana, i. e., Indra), Pashubadha (animal sacrifice) and Chāturmāsya (sacrifice to be offered every fourth month)[5] clearly indicates that these also formed a course of study. But as Brāhmaṇas alone were employed in the performance of these sacrificial rites, it was practically their own monopoly to study and be well-versed in them. The science of politics of Kauṭilya and others were also studied with keen interest.[6]

The Kinsariyā Grant (999 A. D.) refers to king Simharāja (c. 944-71 A. D.) as 'Naya-Sūtra-Yuktaḥ' which probably means that he was well-versed in Logic.[7] However, among the Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer, Vigraharāja IV (c.1150-64 A. D.) ranks supreme in the field of Sanskrit learning and was himself a poet of repute. The fragments of his drama 'the Harakeli-nāṭaka',[8] engraved on slabs of black stone, which were found buried in the courtyard of the Adhāi-din-kā-Jhonprā at Ajmer, unmistakably prove his deep scholarship and love of

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4. EI, Vol. XI, p. 306.
5. ibid, p. 306.
6. Lakshmīdhara : Viruddha Vidhi Vidhvansa, verse 27, as quoted by Dr. D. C. Ganguly in IHQ, September, 1940, p. 571.
7. EI, Vol. XII, p. 56.
8. The date of the play, as given in the inscription, corresponds to Sunday, the 22nd November, 1153 A. D. (IA, Vol. XX, p. 201).

Snaskrit literature.[9] This play is partly in imitation of Bhāravi's 'Kirātārjunīya', and contains some words of self-praise also from the mouth of lord Śiva. The two slabs containing the inscription preserve only the portions of the second and the third acts as well as the concluding portion of the fifth act, called 'Krauncha-vijaya'. A perusal of the remnants of this drama clearly indicates that Vigraharāja IV was a poet of high order and was distinguished 'as much for letters as for valour'. Dr. Keilhorn rightly observes : "Actual and undoubted proof is here afforded to us of the fact that powerful Hindu rulers of the past were eager to compete with Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti for poetical fame."[10]

The great poet Somadeva adorned the court of this poet king and one of his dramas, the 'Lalita-Vigraharāja-Nāṭaka (the Lovely play of Vigraharāja) is preserved in fragments on pieces of stone found in the Adhāi-din-kā-Jhonprā itself.[11] It was composed in honour of the king and only a portion of the first act, the beginning of the second act, the end of the third act and a large portion of the fourth one, engraved on two slabs, have been so far discovered. The drama deals mainly with a theme of love and we learn from it that king Vigraharāja fell in love with princess Desaladevī, the daughter of prince Vasantapāla[12] of Indrapura.[13] But along with

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9. IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-12.
10. ibid, p. 201.
11. IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-12.
12. He appears to be identical with, or a near relation of, king Anangapāla of Delhi (Supra, pp. 143-44).
13. This town may be identified with ancient Indraprastha near Delhi and the Inderput of Muslim writers.

this story of love we are further told that a battle with the king of the Turushkas was impending.[14] The battle was, however, averted on that occasion and the king was eventually united with his lady-love.

About the language, used in this drama, Dr. Keilhorn observes : ' The Prakrita dialects employed in the first inscription are, besides the ordinary Śaurasenī, Mahārāshṭrī, in the two Arya verses recited by the lady Śaśiprabhā in lines 2 and 3, and Māgadhi, spoken by the two Turushka prisoners and the Turushka spy, in lines 13-18 '. ' The Prākrita furnished by this inscription is highly interesting because it agrees more closely with the rules laid down by Hemachandra than is the case with the Prākrita of any of the known plays.[15] The learned doctor, while editing this drama along with the ' Harakeli-Nāṭaka ' of king Vigraharāja IV, finally concludes : " And it shows the strange vicissitude of fortune that the stones on which a royal author, who could boast of having repeatedly exterminated the barbarians (Turushkas) and conquered all the land between the Vindhya and the Himālaya, made known to his people the products of his Muse, should have been used as common building material"[16] by the descendants of those ' barbarians .'

This tradition of patronizing Sanskrit learning was well-maintained by the last of the kings of this line and a number of poets adorned the court of king Prithvirāja III. Among these, the most eminent was Jayānaka who hailed from Kashmir. He is the author of the celebrated historical poem, the 'Prithvīrāja-Vijaya' which, as its name indicates, sings the glories of the great Chāhamāna king of Ajmer. A manuscript copy of this work, and probably the only one in existence, was first discovered in 1875 A. D. by Dr. Buhlar, in course of his tour in search of Sanskrit MSS in Kashmir.[17] The manuscript is in a very mutilated condition and 'in many places the material has been frayed away, and the text is therefore defective'.[18]

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[14] The Turushka king was probably Bahram Shah of Ghazni (1117-57 A.D.).

[15] IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201-12 ; also see Speeches and Writings by H. B. Sharda, pp. 267-68.

[16] IA, Vol. XX, p. 201.

This work is of immense importance to the history of this family and, although it is far from certain as to who was the author of this poem, it appears quite likely that the Kashmirian poet Jayānaka 'whose entry in the court of Prithvīrāja is recorded in Sarga (canto) XII just at the end of the MS' was the author of the poem.[19]

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17. JBBRAS, extra No. XXXIV, A, 1877, p. 63.
18. Dr. Buhlar remarks : "It is a great pity that the old MS is mutiplated and in such a condition asto make the work of reading it very difficult. The beginning is wanting. The leaves which contain cantos I-X, have been broken in the middle by the friction of the thick string used for sewing the volume. Further, the lower portions of a considerable number of leaves have been lost, and as the lower left-hand side of the margin on which stood the figures numbering the leaves have laso been broken off, it is impossible to determine the connection of the upper and the lower halves by any other means than by the sense." (ibid, p. 63.)

9. JRAS, 1913, p. 261 , ; PJBAS, 1893, p. 94.

1Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. VII, pp. 188-92.

This work was composed, in all likelihood, during the life-time of Prithvīrāja III,[20] most probably to commemorate, as its title suggests, his victory against the Ghorian Sultan in 1191 A. D. in the battle field of Train. Apart from the literary merits of the poem, which are considerable, the accuracy of the historical information, contained in it, is not only vouched for by the fact that the well-known historian, Jonarāja, the author of the second Rājataranginī and a well-known commentary on Kirātārjunīya (written in 1448 A.D.) has written a commentary on it, but received full support from important inscriptions discovered in various places. The mention by Jonaraāja of various readings shows that the the poem enjoyed great popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A D.[21]

Besides Jayānaka, other poets and scholars of great renown also adorned the court of Prithviraja III. The Kashmirian poet himself speaks of two of his contemporary poets, namely Krishṇa and Viśvarūpa. He, however, while running down the former, eulogiges the latter who was his friend and guide at Ajmer.[22] We further learn from the Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvalī, compiled by Jinapāla Sūri, of the names of the chief pandits and poets Vāgīśvara, Janārdana and Vidyāpati at the royal court.[23] The same work informs us of two more Jain pandits, Jinapāla Sūri and Padmaprabha Sūri by name, who, though they did not live at the Chāhamāna court, were patronized by king Prithvīrāja III who is said to have at least once, mediated between their learned disputation also.[21]

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[20] Duff's, Chronology of India, p. 171 ; Ojha : Prithvīrāja Vijaya Mahākāvyam, Preface, pp. 1-2.

[21] Sharada : Speeches and Writings, pp. 193-94.

[22] PV, I, 6-30.

[23] Prabndha 22(b) ; also noticed in IHQ, December, 1935, p. 780.

There was yet another poet, named 'Āśādhara, who adorned his court and, when king Prithvīraja III was defeated and killed by Shahab-ud-din Ghori, thh poet was obliged to migrate for Shelter from Sapādalaksha to Malwa. His compositions are the Prameya-Ratnākara, Bhārateśvarābhyudaya-Kāvya and its commentary, Dharmāmrita-Kāvya with commentary, Rājimati-Vipralambha, commentary on Rudraṭa's Kāvyālankāra, Adhyātma-Rahasya, Mūlārādhanā-Ṭīkā, Kriyā-Kalāpa, Saṭīka-Sahasranāmastava, Jina-Yajña-Kalpa with commentary, Trishashṭhi-Smriti, Nitya-Mahodyota, Ratna-Traya-Vidhāna, and Vāgbhaṭa-Samhitā.[25]

The Chāhamāna king Udayasimha of Jāvālipura (Jalor), a collateral branch of the Naḍḍūla dynasty, was a great scholar, fully conversant with the great work of Bhārata, i. e., Nāṭya-Śāstra.[26] His Bhāṇḍāgārika Yaśovīra seems to have been a poet of repute and was given the epithet of Sarasvatī-Kanṭhābharaṇa.[27]

Thus the Chāhamāna kings, either through their own individual efforts or through their patronage of learning, made a valuable contribution to the growth and develop-

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24. ibid, Prabandha 22(b) ; see also Hindustani, January 1940. pp. 71-99.
25. Reu : Bhārata-ke-Prāchīna Rājavanśa, Vol. I, pp. 156-57,
26. EI, Vol. IX, p. 73, verses 42-46.
27. SJGM, Vol. VI, p. 123.

ment of Sanskrit language and literature. Attempts were also being made, even outside the Chāhamāna court and territory, to enrich this language and, practically all the kingly families of the age vied with one another in extending their patronage to Sanskrit learning and literature. As a matter of fact the great literary movement, which had forged its way in an earlier age and had attained the pinnacle of its glory during the imperial rule of the Guptas, continued its onward journey, almost with the same vigour and force, even during the succeeding period which is in no way deficient to any other age with regard to literary output of a high order. Numerous poets and scholars flourished under the sun-shine of royal patronage in different courts where they received every possible impetus and encouragement to make permanent and noble contributions to the already rich literary heritage of India. But beyond and outside the royal courts also, there were eminent poets and writers who attracted attention through sheer merit, and were respected and admired for their talent even by the crowned heads of the age. However, greater attention was paid to making the language richer and sweeter than before and hundreds of works, some of which are of the highest order, covering almost all the branches of learning, were produced during this age.

The Prākṛita and the Veṛnāculaṛ Languages

Side by side with Sanskrit, Prākrita was also a language of creative literature and it enjoyed this position for many a century. In course of time, however, when it was bound, like Sanskrit, with intricate rules of its grammar, it served only as a vehicle of literary expression and ceased to be the spoken language of the people. This latter position was, therefore, taken by the 'Deśa-Bhāshā,'[28] or the language of the common man. But, in its own turn, the Deśa-Bhāshā also became the language of literary expression and came to be called the 'Apabhranśa.[29] However, during all these periods Sanskrit continued to be the leading language for creative literature and also helped the formation of the vernacular languages which were gradually coming into existence out of the Apabhranśa which was being raised to the proud position of a literary language. These vernacular languages received a new impetus from the rising tide of Sanskrit and their intimate tie was all the more strengthened by their close affinity with it. Thus, Sanskrit served not only as the ultimate source of their origin, but also of their subsequent growth and development. Later on, time and place played a decisive role in giving them a definite shape and they came to be called under new names, such as Māgadhī, Śaurasenī. Mahārāshṭrī, Paiśāchī, Āvantika and Apabhranśa.[30] As regards the use of these and other earlier languages, much depended on traditions and established conventions among the poets, and we learn from the 'Kāvya-Mīmānsā' of Rājaśekhara that the poets of Gauḍa etc. are more interested in Sanskrit and those of Lāta in Prākrita. All the poets of Maru, Ṭakka and Bhaḍanaka use Apabhranśa, while those of Avanti (central Malwa), Pāriyātra (western Vindhya region) and Daśapura (Northern Malwa) are enamoured of Bhutabhāshā (Paiśāchī). But the poets living in the central part of Madhyadeśa (U. P.) are well-versed in all the languages.[31]

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[28] एवमेतत्तु विज्ञेयं प्राकृतं संस्कृतं तथा ।
अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रक्ष्यामि देशभाषा प्रकल्पनम् ॥
Bharata-Nātya-Śāstra.

[29] Ram Chandra Shukla : Hindi Sahitya ka Itihasa, p. 7. Apabhranśa is also a general name applied to Indian languages in the third stage of their development, the earlier ones being Sanskrit and Prakrita.

[30] Ojha : Madhya Kalina Bharatiya Sanskriti, pp. 135-137.

The local languages, which were coming into existence and which were, more or less, merely spoken languages in the beginning, developed a new trend, caused by the revival of the Samskrit literature. This was responsible for their assuming new but definite shape by the use of pure or 'tatsama' Samskrit words. Thus, they acquired, in course of time, a new grace and beauty which endeared them all the more to the people in general. Besides, religion also helped and hastened the formation, as well promotion of these Vernaculars. While the philosophy of Śankarāchārya (8th. century) needed the assistance of the language of the people for its rapid spread among them, the different sects of Hinduism, like the Śaivas, the Kāpālikas, the Pāśupatyas and the Gorakhapanthins as well as the Vajrāyaṇa sect of the Buddhists were trying to popularise their respective beliefs through the language of the people. These religious teachers, through the expression of their deep and mystic religious philosophy in the language of the people, helped considerably the actual growth and development of the vernaculars in different localities. The Rajput kings further helped them by patronising the poets who were giving expression to their muse in their local dialects. Thus, political, social as well as religious needs brought about tremendous changes in spoken languages which soon assumed literary forms under local names with peculiarities all their own. This process ultimately gave rise to various provincial languages such as Bengali, Hindi (eastern as well as western), Punjabi, Gujrati, and Marathi etc. which were only different names of the Apabhranśas spoken earlier in those regions.

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[31] गौडाद्याः संस्कृतस्थाः परिचितरुचयः प्राकृते लाटदेश्याः
सापभ्रंश प्रयोगाः सकलमरुभुवष्टक्कभादनकाश्च
आवन्त्याः पारियात्राः सहदशपुरजैर्भूत भाषा भजन्ते
यो मध्ये मध्ये मध्यदेशं निवसति स कविः सर्वभाषानिषण्णाः
GOS, No. 1. p. 51, also Shodha Patrika, Vol. I, part I, pp. 14-24.

The Vīragāthā Period of Hindi Literature.

The earliest examples of Hindi literature which owes much for its eventual growth and development to the Śaurasenī Apabhranśa, are to be found mostly in Rajasthan and western part of the Uttar Pradesh which were the political centres of India during the Rajput period. And, as this was an age of Chivalry and war, the Rajput kings were ceaselessly fighting not only among themselves for mere political ascendancy and show of valour, but also against the Turks whose invasions against India were renewed with greater ferocity and vigour than before. So, in this age of continuous wa,r the roaming bard, who often enjoyed royal patronage at the courts, found a good opportunity to sing the glories of his lord, and, by means of his chivalrous poetry, he infused a new spirit and enthusiasm in the king as well as in the ranks who had adopted fighting as their main profession. This gave birth to 'Vīragāthā'

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or bardic literature which is generally divided into two main branches, the epic poetry and the ballads. The main theme of these songs were love and war which were the characteristic features of this age and these poems are a happy blending of these two sentiments.

These poems were generally called, ' Rāsos ' and the earliest of them is the ' Khumāna Rāso ' of Dalapata Vijaya. The next is the ' Vīsaladeva-Rāso ' which is a beautiful example of ballad poetry in Hindi literature. This poem is said to have been written in the middle of the 12th. century A. D. (V. E. 1212).[32] and, as its name suggests, it deals with a theme connected with the Chāhamāna king Vīsaladeva (Vigraharāja) of Ajmer. But, as there were as many as four kings of this name in the Chāhamāna dynasty of Ajmer, it is difficult to make out as to which of them is the hero of this poem. Some scholars of today are inclined to identify this king with Vigraharāja IV (c. 1150-64 A. D.) because the date of the composition of the poem (1155A. D.) corresponds with the reign of this king.[33] But, from the story of the poem we learn that the name of the heroine was Rājamatī who was a Paramāra princess of Malwa..[34] We know from the Bijauliā rock inscription that the name of the queen of Vīsaladeva III (c. 1070-90 A. D.) was Rājadevī. It is, therefore, more appropriate to identify the Vīsaladeva of the poem with king Vīsaladeva III who is also known to have formed an alliance with the Paramāra king

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[32] Vīsaladeva Rāso (Nagari Pracharini ed.) Introduction, pp. 4-7.

[33] ibid, Introduction, pp. 4-7 and 14-27.

[34] ibid, I, 19 and 56 and 61.

Udayādiyta of Mālwā and helped him to secure a victory against the Chaulukyas of Gujrat..[35]

The Chāhamāna kings of Ajmer were as great patrons of Hindi poetry as of Samskrit literature and, as the tradition goes, the famous Hindi poet Chandavaradāī lived at the court of Prithvīrāja III, the last great Chāhamāna king of Ajmer. There he is said to have composed his great Hindi epic, the 'Prithvīrāja-Rāso,' and is perhaps indentical with Chanda Validda Bhaṭṭa, the royal bard of the Prithvīrāja-Prabandhaḥ.[36] Regarding this epic and its authorship there has cropped up a great controversy among scholars and Dr. Ojha and others.[37] are not prepared to ascribe the authorship of this work to a court-poet of Prithvīrāja. But, all the same, it looks highly improbable that a bard of the 16th. century A. D. who is supposed to have written this master piece of a huge bulk, which could at once bring him laurels and fame, ' the last infirmity of noble mind, ' should have chosen to be anonymous and ascribe the authorship of this epic to Chanda or any one else. Furthermore, as some of the stanzas of the ' Prithvīrāja Rāso ' have been quoted in the Purātana-Prabandha-Sangraha of the 14th. century A. D. and the name of Chanda Validda Bhaṭṭa himself is given as the royal bard at the court of Prithvīrāja III.,[38] it appears quite likely that, though the Hindi epic in its present form was not composed by Chanda, the nucleus

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35. PV, V, 76-78.
36. SJGM, Vol. II, p. 86.
37. NPP, Vol. I, (new ed.) pp. 376-454; JASB, Vol. LV, part I, pp. 15-65.
38. SJGM, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.

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comes from the graceful pen of the Chāhamāna bard. Later on, a good deal of interpolations and additions in the poem destroyed its historicity to such an extent that its very authenticity as well as antiquity have been seriously questioned by the present day scholars, and it is supposed to be a forgery of later date. The main theme of the epic, however, centres round the glories and achievements of the Chāhamāna king Prithvīrāja III and the poem describes very elaborately the stories of his love and marriages. Prithvīrāja's abduction of Sanyogitā, the Gāhaḍavāla princess of Kanauj, and their eventual marriage alone occupy about one third of the whole volume. It further deals with many of the wars waged by Prithvīrāja III and ends with his last war against the king of Ghazni, which finally led to his downfall and destruction.

Bhaṭṭa Kedara composed the ‘ Jayachandra-Prakāśa’ to sing the glories of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayāchandra of Kanauj. This king is the hero of yet another poem, the ‘ Jayamayanka-Yaśachandrikā ’ by Madhukara. Unfortunately the copies of these poems are extinct and we know them only through extracts in the ‘ Raṭhorā rī Khyāta ’ of Singhāyacha Dayāladāsa, a copy of which is preserved in the Fort Library, Bikaner.

The ‘ Ālhākhaṇḍa ’ was written by Jaganika, the royal bard of Kalinjara. This poem describes the warlike and chivalrous activities of two brothers, Ālhā and Ūdala (Udayasimha), the heroes of Kalinjara during the reign of king Paramardideva. Although the original work has been lost, the ‘ Ālhā ’, which is probably based on the original composition, is sung even to this day in the villages of northern India.

If we pause, therefore, to take a bird's eye view of the intellectual attainments of the Hindus in general, and the Chāhamānas in particular, during our age, we may conclude with the historian that 'Hindu intellect maintained its reputation for acuteness and brilliancy in this sub-period by the production of such works as Kāvya-Prakāśa and Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi, Naishadha-Mahākāvya and Gita-Govinda, the most charming lyric in the world. Indeed this galaxy of eminent authors like Bhoja and Mammaṭa, Bhāskara and Ramanuja, Jayadeva and Śrī Harsha and many others illumines to some extent, this sombre period of medieval Hindu history of India.[39]

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[39] Vaidya : HMHI, Vol. III, p. 456.

CHAPTER XVI

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The intellectual and spiritual advancement of the Hindus is more than recorded through their high achievements in the field of art and architecture, sculpture and painting which are 'the principal visible and material record, through ages, of man's intellectual evolution.' They, however, survive in the form of a few remains; scattered all over the country. A close study of these remains clearly indicates major historical developments in the course of the age-old Hindu civilization, as these achievements help us 'to construct much of the past' which might have, otherwise, been lost to oblivion, and 'visualize the social and political conditions of the country' during different ages. It appears the Hindu mind applied itself in the field of art not to extract beauty from nature but to reveal the life within life, the reality within unreality and, above all, the soul within matter. It is then alone that beauty can reveal itself.

This attitude has led the Hindu art to associate itself with religion which provides it with 'its spiritual content.' In making images of gods, particularly, the artist depended much upon his spiritual vision and seems to have paid little attention to the appearance of objects as perceived by human sense. This was so because the central idea throughout the Indian art was that beauty is inherent in spirit and not in matter. The artist, therefore, whose intellect was absorbed mostly in divine contemplation,began to lay greater emphasis on the religious, philosophical and metaphysical qualities of his production and assigned a secondary place to the artistic character of his architectural achievement. This is more clearly marked in the temple ideal where 'the spiritual dominates the material'. Percy Brown rightly states that 'the fundamental purpose of the building art was to represent in concrete form the prevailing religious consciousness of the people. It is mind materialized in terms of rock, brick and stone.' He further observes that 'carved in high or low relief are depicted all the glorious gods of the age-old mythology of the country, engaged in their well known ceremonials, an unending array of imagery steeped in symbolism, thus producing an "Ocean of Story" of absorbing interest.'[1]

Artistic varieties

Inspite of the spiritual and intellectual set back which the country seems to have witnessed after the fall of the Imperial Guptas, and inspite of the frequent local wars waged by kings, in subsequent period, we observe practically no diminution in building activity. As a matter of fact, art and architecture received adequate help and patronage from the kings of different dynasties during this age, and, side by side with their vaulting political ambition, these kings took keen interest in fine arts also. They built grand palaces for their residence and decorated them well with various scenes of their taste and choice. As religion occupied a prominent place in their daily life, they constructed superb structures, as dwelling places of their gods, which were far famed for their grandeur and magnificence.[2] Rich people, like business magnates or high ministers of states, also gave full expression to their aesthetic taste and sense of beauty by constructing lofty houses or beautiful temples, some of which are among the finest specimen of architectural achievement.[3] The temples were decorated with fine and well-carved images and idols of the favourite gods of those who built them. Thus, while religion, which was divided into a number of sects and subsects, gave stimulus for the construction of temples of high architectural value, the incessant war-fare, indulged in by the Kshatriya kings, necessitated the erection of huge fortifications round important towns and villages, wherein also a good deal of architectural beauty can be seen. Moreover, different cultural movements which have moulded the life of the people from time to time, have also made their contribution to the progress and enrichment of fine arts in the country. The rise of numerous ruling dynasties further caused the growth of towns with splendid palaces, beautiful gardens and gorgeous temples of remarkable beauty.

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[1] Percy Brown : Indian Architecture, (2nd. ed.) p. 1.

But artistic activities were not confined to the building of temples and palaces alone. The ancient tradition of building public highways with huge bridges and sumptuous rest-houses was well-maintained and magnificent artificial lakes and tanks were dug in different parts. These objects equally obsorbed the attention of the reigning monarchs and their wealthy subjects with religious disposition. Besides, sculpture and painting received due attention and were among the highly patronized arts at royal courts as well as at the hands of rich citizens. Although these arts had reached the high watermark of their progress during the Gupta Age, the Rajput period does not appear to be much behind, and the few remains, which have escaped destruction at the hands of foreigners, bear ample testimony to the high attainments of the people in the field of sculpture and painting as well.

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[2] PV, VIII, 63-71 ; JRAS, 1913, p. 277.
Sharda : Ajmer, (1st. ed.) p. 66.

[3] JRAS, 1913, pp. 272-73 ; NPP, Vol. IV, part I (new ed.) p. 42

Architecture

The architecture of the period (c. 600-1200 A. D.) which mostly consists of temples and Chaityas, stupas and monasteries, palaces and mansions, can be classified under three broad heads, viz., Nāgara (North Indian), Besara (Deccan) and Dṛaviḍa (South Indian) styles. The Besara and Dṛaviḍa consisted of mainly two divisions, namely the rock-cut and the structural. The specimens of these styles can be found in the Deccan and the far south.

The Nāgara style, on the other hand, covers a wider range and the specimens of this art can be traced in different parts of the country. For the sake of convenience, however, they can be arranged in five main groups : The Orissa group, the Khajurāho group, the Rajputana and central India group, the Gujrat and the western group and the Deccan group. The architecture in these parts is mostly structural and, barring a few local traits, each one of them is very much similar to the other in conception as well as execution. A keen observer of the northern art will not fail to notice certain fundamental principles which seem to have guided and controlled the art in this region. The entire movement is well-marked for the standardization of a set procedure both artistic and structural. This implies that 'the master masons were working not only with one general understanding, but also by means of some comprehensive and well-established technical code.' This is revealed through a striking similarity and uniformity of style although the buildings may be distantly situated from one another. This shows that the creative period of Hindu art was coming to its close and the artist was mechanically busy at his work never deviating from the rules as laid down in the Vāstuśāstra or the 'Rules of Architecture.'

The Evolution of the Temple.

The principal architectural features of the temple, as it was evolved during the period under review, are as follows : "Throughout the greater part of the country, the sanctuary as a whole is known as the 'vimāna', of which the upper and pyramidal or tapering portion is called the 'Śikhara', meaning tower or spire. Inside the 'Vimana' is a small and generally dark chamber or cella for the reception of the divine symbol. This cella is the 'Garbha-gṛiha,' or "womb-house", and was entered by a doorway on its inner, and usually, eastern side. In front of the doorway was a pillared hall, 'manḍapa', actually a pavilion for the assembly of those paying their devotions to the divine symbol in the cella. Some of the earlier temples indicate that the 'manḍapa', was a detached building, isolated from the sanctuary by a definite open space...... A little later it became the custom to unite the two buildings, thus forming an intermediate chamber, or vestibule, called the 'Antarāla'. Leading up to the main hall or 'maṇḍapa' is a porch or 'ardha maṇḍapa', while there may be a transept on each side of this central hall, known as the 'Mahā-maṇḍapa.'[4]

The temples of the Jains and those of the Hindus have little appreciable difference in architectural appearance, 'except that the former preferred enclosed compartments instead of open columned halls, thus ensuring more seclusion for their ceremonial.' The device on the finial of the 'Sikhara' distinguishes the temples of the Śivaites from those of the Vishṇvites. The three pronged trident signified a Śiva temple, 'inside the cella of which will be a 'linga' or phallic emblem, and outside, on the east, in front of the main entrance, an effigy of the sacred bull (Nandī).' Above the spire of the Vishnu temple, on the other hand, there will be a disc, or wheel, and inside the sanctuary a statue of the deity.'[5]

The Chāhamānas as Patron of Architecture.

The Chāhamāna kings, like their other contemporary kings, were great builders. Unfortunately the part of the country over which they ruled, when it passed into the hands of the victorious Musalmans, suffered most at their hands and there was wholesale destruction at

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4. Percy Brown : Indian Architecture (2nd. ed.) p. 75.
   The most complete illustrations of the fully formed and coalesced temple structure, are the 10th century examples at Khajuraho, Central India, especially that known as the Kandarīya Mahādeva.
5. Percy Brown : Indian Architecture, p. 77.

Ajmer, Delhi and other places of temples, palaces and other objects of art. Their destructive activity is fully revealed if one throws a glance over the Qutb Mosque at Delhi and the Adhāi-din-kā Jhonparā at Ajmer, the earliest architectural efforts of the invaders. We are told that 'twenty six temples were dismantled to provide material for the Delhi mosque.' while the latter is a structural compilation of nearly fifty temples.[6] This may serve to explain the scarcity of indigenous architectural remains within the vicinity of the cities of Ajmer and Delhi.

We learn from the Prithvīrāja Vijaya that Rudrāṇīdevī, the queen of Chandanarāja (c. 890-917 A. D.), established at the banks of the Pushkar lake as many as a thousand Śiva Lingas,[7] which may indicate that numerous temples must have been built to accommodate them, while king Vākpatirāja (c. 917-44 A. D.) and his son Simharāja (c. 944-71 A. D.) built lofty mansions of Lord Śiva in the Pushkar Tirtha.[8] King Vigraharāja II constructed a temple of Āśāpurīdevī, the family deity of the Chāhamānas, at a distant place like Bhrigukachchha during his victorious campaign in Gujrat.[9] King Chāmuṇḍarāja (c. 1040-65 A. D.) founded a temple of Vishṇu at Narapura,[10] while king Arṇorāja (c. 1135-50 A. D.) built a Śiva temple at Ajmer after the name of his father.[11] A little below this temple is that of Ruṭhī Rānī (the offended queen) who was perhaps the wife of king Prithvīrāja II. King Someśvara is credited to have built at Ajmer five temples including that of Vaidyanātha and the temple of Trideva, *i. e.*, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, so that Ajmer vied with Meru which boasted of its five Kalpavrikshas. He further built so many temples in Gangānaka[12] and other places that 'the population of the City of Gods dwindled away.[13]

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[6] Percy Brown : Indian Architecture , p. 134.

[7] PV, V, 37.

[8] ibid, V, 43 and 45.

[9] ibid, V, 53.

[10] ibid, V, 68.

King Vigraharāja IV (c. 1150-64 A. D.), who was as great a warrior as a poet, patronized architecture more than any other king of the dynasty before him. He constructed at Ajmer as many temples as forts he had conquered.[14] But the highest achievement of his memorable reign was the famous Sarasvatī temple at Ajmer which is called today the Adhāi-din-kā-Jhonparā. A Jain tradition, however, claims it as a Jain temple[15] and it was believed by Col. James Tod as well.[16] But this theory has been contradicted by Mr. Cousen who says : "This work is not of Jain origin, but it is distinctly Brahmanical. Amongst the mutilated sculptures are those of Mahākālī, Śiva, Pārvatī and Kuvera."[17] Mr. Tucker holds almost identical views and writes : "In 1902, a large white marble Linga was discovered in the course of excavations in the courtyard. This confirms the Brahmanical character of the early temple, often incorrectly described as Jain."[18] As a matter of fact, this temple of goddess of learning was built by king Vigraharāja IV, probably soon after his enthronement, for most of the inscriptions, including the two dramas—the 'Harakeli-Nāṭaka' and the 'Lalita-Vigraharāja-Nāṭaka,' which have been discovered within the premises of this building, belong to the early part of his reign and one of them is dated 1153 A. D.[19] Among these, two short inscriptions bear unmistakable testimony to the construction of this noble work of art. One of them has it clearly engraved : "This building was constructed by the illustrious king Vigraharājadeva,"[20] while the other simply says : "Made by the illustrious king Vigraharāja."[21] This dispels all doubts regarding the origin of this building.

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[11] ibid, VI, 26-28.

[12] It is to be identified with Gangwana, 9 miles north-east of Ajmer.

[13] PV, VIII, 63-71.

[14] BG, Vol. II, p. 180.

[15] The tradition runs as follows : ' Seth Vīramadeva Kālā built a Jain temple in celebration of the Jain festival 'Pancha-Kalyāṇa-Mahotsava ' in V. E. 717 (660 A. D.) at a cost of sevn lacs of rupees. The foundation stone was laid by the Jain Bhaṭṭāraka 'Śrī Viśvānanda. The Jain Āchāryas decided to give up their practice of not having a permanent place but to tour about and preach Jainism. As there was no place in Ajmer for the Jain priestly class to stay, this temple was built,

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16. Tod : AAR, Vol. I, p. 616 (1877 Cal. ed.).
17. Cousen : Arch. Sur. Report, Western India, dated 28th. April, 1900.
18. Arch. Sur. Reports, 1902-03, p. 81.
19. IA, Vol. XX, p. 201.
20. श्री विग्रहराज देवेन कारितमायतनमिदम्।
21. These inscriptions are deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

The building was originally designed to be a college building.[22] "It was built in the form of a square, 259 feet each side, with cloisters on all the four sides enclosing a spacious courtyard and four splendid star-shaped cloister towers on the four corners, surrounded by magnificent Chhatrees. The building stood on a high terrace, and was constructed against the scarped rock of the hill, having the Sarasvatī-Mandir (temple of learning) on the western side, and entrance towards the south and east. The interior consisted of a quadrangle 200 feet by 170 feet.

"The western side of the quadrangle is a vast pillared hall 248 feet long and 40 feet wide, covered by a flat recessed roof which is divided into nine octagonal compartments corresponding with the seven arches of the screen wall and the two corners of the cloisters. In this hall there are five rows of columns, of which one row is placed against the back wall. Altogether there are seventy pillars now standing. These pillars have a greater height than those at the Kutb, and are more elegant in their sculpture and general appearance than the converted mosques in Malwa and Ahmadabad."[23].

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22. It bears a close resemblance with a building at Dhar which is also converted into a mosque and which is still known as Rājā Bhoja's Pāthaśālā (school).

23. Quoted by H. B. Sharda from Captain H. H. Cole's preservation of National Monuments in Rajputana, 1881, in his Speeches and Writings, p. 257-58. The Muslims, after their conquest of Ajmer, began to convert it into a mosque through their usual process of demolition and compilation. " The

(*Continued*

From an antiquarian as well as architectural point of view, the Jhonparā is doubtless one of the most important buildings surviving to this day in India. According to General Cunningham "There is no building in India which, either for historical interest or archaeological importance is more worthy of preservation." Of its beauty and workmanship he adds : "For gorgeous prodigality of ornament, beautiful richness of tracery, delicate sharpness of finish, laborious accuracy of workmanship, endless variety of detail, all of which are due to the Hindu masons, this building may justly vie with the noblest building which the world has yet produced."[24] Mr. Fergusson holds almost indentical views and, regarding the surface decoration of this building, he says : "As examples of surface decoration, the Jhonprā and the mosque of Altamash at Delhi are probably unrivalled. Nothing in Cairo or in Persia is so exquisite in detail, and nothing in Spain or Syria can approach them for beauty of surface decoration."[25]

(*Continued*)

alteration consisted principally of the addition of the magnificent screen-wall consisting of seven arches, fronting the western side, and the insertion, in the back wall, of the inevitable mehrab or arch inseparable from a mosque, and the erection of pulpit or mimbar near it. The imamgah or mehrab in white marble was built in 1199 A. D., and the screen wall was added during the time of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash, about 1213 A. D. The conversion was carried on under the management of different persons, the names of two of whom are recorded-Abubaker, the son of Ahmad (1200 A. D.), and Ahmad, son of Muhammad the Aariz." (ibid, p. 258.)

24. ASI, Vol. II, p. 263.
25. History of Eastern and Indian Architecture, p. 513.

Col. Tod, writing about the columns of the 'relic of nobler days and noblest art' tells us that "they are most worthy of attention. They are unique in design, and, with the exception of cave temples, probably among the oldest now existing in India. On examining them, ideas entirely novel, even in Hindu art, are developed. Like all these portions of Hindu architecture, their ornaments are very complex, and the observer will not fail to be struck with their dissimilarity; it was evidently a rule in the art, to make the ornaments of every part unlike the other, and which I have seen carried to great extent... The ornaments of the base are peculiar, both as to form and execution; the lozenges, with the rich tracery surmounting them, might be transferred, not inappropriately, to the Gothic cathedrals of Europe."[26]

Another well-preserved temple perhaps of the time of king Prithvīrāja III at Visalpur is 'in typical Nāgara style...complete with its Śikhara, Antarāla, its square Maṇḍapa and portico... The sanctum is a square cell, ten feet along each side internally with plain walls and a tribeate ceiling composed of circular projecting courses in the usual Hindu style. The 'Śiva lingam' and the 'Yoni' in the middle of the chamber are original and gave the name of Gokaraṇeśvara to the temple... Both the Antarāla and the Maṇḍapa have continuous high seat running right round and supporting half columns to support the ceiling. The roof of the Maṇḍapa is supported on eight richly ornamented pillars with alto-relievo figures of dancing girls etc."[27]

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[26] Tod : AAR, Vol. I, p. 616 (Cal. Ed. 1877).

The Chāhamāna kings of Naḍḍūla were equally interested in the development and patronage of architecture and a large number of beautiful temples of Hindu and Jain gods and goddesses were erected at Naḍḍūla and other places in the kingdom. Among these, the Principal temples appear to be those of Lakshmaṇasvāmin, Someśvara, Mahādeva, Jagatasvāmin, Yādavanātha, Bahuguṇamātā, Jendrarājeśvara, Prithvīpāleśvara, Jojaleśvara, Asaleśvara, Padmaleśvara, Aṇahileśvara, Ādinātha, Neminātha, Mahāvīrasvāmin and others.[28] At Naḍḍūla the Jains were an influential community and they built a large number of temples to enshrine their Tīrthankaras.

In the group of temples at Kirāḍu in the district of Mallani in Marwar, which was included in the kingdom of Naḍḍūḷa, one may detect certain Gupta influence, 'particularly in the pattern of the small turrets of the Śikhara, and the more liberal use of the vase and foliage motif. 'Five of these temples have many of the characteristics of the Solankī style of Gujrat. Of this group, the temple of Someśvara, which is the largest and the least injured, retains much of its tower, and the shell of a magnificent pillared hall, the square shafts of its columns ending in the vase and foliage element, above which is a circular section and a four-branched bracket capital. In this temple the basement or pīṭha includes a complete series of the traditionlal mouldings of the style consisting of the rows of horned heads, elephants, horses and men in that order... There appears no other temple in these parts so richly wrought, or showing more distinctly a compounding of exuberant art and intensity of devotion than this deserted group at Kirāḍu."[29]

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[27] Sahni : Arch. Remains and Excavations at Sambhar, pp. 6-7. A. C. L. Carlleyle : Arch. Sur. India. Vol. VI, 1871-72, 72-73, pp. 158-59.

[28] EI, Vol. XI, pp. 26 ff.

Among the numerous temples, surviving at Nedole, the capital of the Nāḍoliyā Chāhamānas, that of Mahāvīra is a very fine piece of architecture. 'Its vaulted roof is a perfect model of the most ancient style of dome in the East; probably invented anterior to the Roman... The principle is that of a horizontal instead of a radiating pressure.' We are further told that at Nadole 'the stones are placed by a gradual projection one over the other, the apex being closed by a circular key-stone. The angles of all these projections being rounded off, the spectator, looking up, can only describe the vault as a series of gradually diminishing amulets or rings covering to the apex.'[30]

The architectural activity of the Chāhamānas was not confined to temples alone, but magnificent palaces and huge fortifications and mansions were also built by them. Although no trace is found today of their palaces which either were destroyed by the conquerors or suffered decay and delapidation at the hands of nature, epigraphic and literary evidences clearly reveal that

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29. Percy Brown : Indian Architecture, p. 144.
30. Tod : AAR, Vol. I, p. 550 (Cal. ed. 1877).

the kings of this dynasty founded a number of towns and adorned them with artificial lakes and beautiful buildings of all descriptions. Thus, the town of Śākambharī (Sambhar), the original seat of power of this dynasty, was founded by prince Vāsudeva in the middle of the sixth century A. D.,[31] while in the next century the town of Ajmer came into existence.[32] The latter, however acquired prominence only in the 1st. quarter of 12th. century. A. D. when it was made the capital of the growing kingdom of Ajmer, by king Ajayarāja II (c. 1110-35 A. D.). He seems to have made considerable additions and improvements in the town and a number of splendid residential houses were constructed to accommodate the king and his courtiers.[33]

Foremost among the architectural achievements in the town of Ajmer, besides the Adhāi-din-kā-Jhonparā, is the fortress of Ajmer (Ajayameru durga), called the fort of Tārāgarh which was built sometimes in the 7th century A. D. by the founder of the town. This fort covers an area of 80 acres and is built on the crest of a towering hill, '2855 feet above sea level, and about 1300 above the plain,' which 'rises majestically from its base to the height of about 800 feet, its crest encircled by the ancient walls and towers.[31] Besides its architectural value which is considerable, this fort 'has maintained its reputation for strength and strategic import-

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31. Sahni : Arch. Remains and Excavations at Sambhar, p. 11.
32. Sharda : Ajmer, pp. 37-38 (1st. 'ed.).
33. PV, V, 92-191.
34. Tod : AAR, Vol. I, p. 618 (Cal. ed. 1877).

ance during all the political changes and upheavals this country has witnessed.'

Another remarkable achievement in Ajmer is the Ānāsāgar which is a great artificial lake formed by throwing up an embankment between two hillocks. This lake was built by king Arṇorāja to commemorate his victory against an invading army of the Turks.[35] It is one of the loveliest tanks in India. The next ornament of Ajmer was the beautiful lake, called the Vāsalasar. It was built by king Vīgraharāja IV and, in the palmy days of Ajmer, 'temples and houses stood all ground' this lake, and there were two islands in the lake on which stood the palaces of the king. 'These islands are hopelessly ruined, though marks of a reservoir and foundations of buildings on them remind the spectator that in old days the Vīsalasar was a beautiful lake with island palaces fit to adorn the capital of an emperor distinguished as much for letters as for volour.[36]

King Someśvara also founded a town in the suburb of Ajmer, where stood the lofty palaces of his half brother king Vigraharāja IV, and named it after himself.[37] His wife Karpūradevī is also credited to have founded a town.

The fortress of Nadole which is attributed to prince Lakshmaṇarāja, the illustrious founder of the Nādoliyā family, (c. 950-82 A. D.), 'is on the declivity of a low ridge to the westward of the town, with square towers of ancient form, and built of a very curious conglomerate of granite and gueiss, of which the rock on which it stands, is composed. Another singular structure at Nadole is a reservoir, called Chana-ka-baoli. Its" 'excavation is immense. The descent is by a flight of grey granite steps, and the sides are built of from the same materials by piling blocks upon blocks of enormous magnitude, without the least cement."[38]

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[35] PV, VI, 21-25.

[36] Sharda : Ajmer, p. 66 (1st. ed.).

[37] PV, VIII, 63-71 ; JRAS, 1913, p. 277.

Sculpture :

Like architecture, sculpture had also reached its zenith during the Gupta period and in the subsequent period this art seems to have maintained only the continuity of that pattern. However, a glance over the sculpture during the early medieval period (c. 600-1200 A. D.) will reveal that in almost all the phases of this art certain fundamental principles were guiding the artists. There was, consequently, a standardization of procedure and master artists in all parts of the country seemed to be working with one general understanding following a well-established code. This led them to apply their intellect more than their heart with the obvious result that ornamentation took the place of creative art and they specialized more and more in the field of ornamentation alone. Heredity also played its part, not inadequately, in the development and preservation of this art, and, like a family property, it was handed over from father to son. This further set a limit to its progress and this art blossomed only like a flower in a flower-pot.

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[38] Tod : AAR, Vol. I, p. 550.

From the view-point of prevalent styles in the field of sculpture during this period we may divide the country approximately into six zones, viz., Orissa, Bengal-Bihar, Bundelkhand, Central India, Rajputana-Gujrat and Tamil. If we analyse the chief characteristics of the art of this age, we find that, in confirmity with the standardization of procedure, greater emphasis was laid on the accuracy of details and measurement of statues, and, in order to impress upon the people the omnipotence of gods, they were represented with numerous hands holding different arms which symbolized their power. The statues of gods were so chiselled and finished in various 'mudrās' and forms that different parts, like cheeks, chins etc. were very distinct and well-marked. Here the simplicity of the Gupta art is conspicuous by its absence, and its place was taken by an ostentatious and elaborate style which tends to keep the art at a distance from actual life. In the statues of Jain Tīrthankaras, however, there appears to be less difference in finish and form than what it was in the earlier age.

State Museum Library Lucknow

The statues of Hindu gods and goddesses like Śiva, Vishṇu, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Kubera and Durgā in her different aspects such as Pārvatī. Kālī, Kapālī and Chāmuṇḍā etc., and Mātrikās and others were more commonly sculptured and placed in magnificent temples for the worship and adoration of their respective followers. The Jains put up the statues of their Tīrthankaras like Ādināth, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra while the Buddhists enshrined those of the Buddha, Bodhisatvas and Avalokiteśvaras etc. Before

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the advent of Islam in this country this art was in a flourishing state and, although most of the images and statues and other sculptured objects were completely destroyed by the invaders, what remains is the actual proof of the development and progress of this art during this period. The broken, or disfigured, statues of gods, found at Mathurā, Kāmā (Bharatpur), Rajorgarh (Alwar), Harshanātha (Shekhavati, Jaipur), Hathmo (Jodhpur) Baghera, Nagda and Mainal (Udaiput), and other places are superb and exhibit a high standard of workmanship.

The Chāhamāna sculpture cannot be separated from their architecture and they are practically one and indivisible. The Chāhamāna kings built, as we have noticed above, numerous temples which accommodated the statues of their favourite deities. But as the temple of Ajmer and other places in the Chāhamāna kingdom suffered complete destruction at the hands of the conquerors, most of the specimens of sculptured art, like architecture, does not survive today and, for all practical purposes, they are lost for good. However, we learn from the Prithvīrāja Vijaya that king Someśvara (c. 1169-78 A. D.) placed in his newly constructed temple of Vaidyanātha an effigy of his father Arṇorāja on horse-back with that of his own in the front, facing his father's.[39] The remains at Sambhar further bear testimony to the patronage offered by the kings of this dynasty to this noble art. Among the remarkable objects discovered at this original seat of power are : 'A tablet of slate stone with portions of two female figures, another tablet of the same material with four-armed Durgā, with trident and shield in upperhands and what looks like a bell in the lower left hand, two figures of Vishṇu in the same material and a part of a female figure with its right foot upon the head of a buffalo."[40] Another pottery tablet beautifully represents goddess Durgā slaying the buffalo demon (Mahishāsura). 'As usual, the goddess is standing in the archer's attitude (Āliḍha-Mudrā) and her left hand is clenched upon the raised left thigh. This plaque is made of a pure white clay. The legs of the goddess are swathed in a nether garment secured round the waist with a girdle of six chains of beads and with a heavy tassle hanging between the legs.'[41] This figure is obviously in the Gupta style.

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[39] PV, VIII, 66-67 ; JRAS, 1913, p. 277.

The toraṇa in front of the altar of Mahāvīra at Nadole is a fine specimen of this art and is exquisitely sculptured. There are other statues also at this place which exhibit a superior workmanship.

The decorative sculpture on temples is sometimes obscene and this has often led foreigners to pass misleading judgment on the ethics of Hindu religion. True, some Hindu sects did indulge in depraved ritualistic practices, but that was only one, and rather insignificant, phase of Hindu religion prevalent at that time. This indecency appears to have been introduced probably on account of a superstitious belief that it offered protection against evil eye, and no trace of vulgarity or inde-

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40. Sahni : Arch. Remains and Excavation at Sambhar, p. 21-22.
41. ibid, p. 26.

cency can be traced in the sculpture of the sacred images or statues worshipped within the sanctum.

Painting.

Painting, being a more perishable art than architecture or sculpture, does not survive to this day. This art also, like any other art in India, had two broad aspects—religious and secular, with a definite preponderance of the former. It appears kings maintained their Chitraśālās (picture-gallery), and we learn from the Prithvīrāja-Vijaya that, after transacting state business in the fore-noon, king Prithvīrāja III retired to his 'Chitraśālā' for recreation and enjoyment. The poet gives a graphic description of a royal visit. We are told that Prithvīrāja III was shown by the royal bard Prithvībhaṭa, who accompanied him to the picture-gallery, picture illustrations of the various incidents contained in the Rāmāyaṇa. Finally, the king happened to look at the portrait of Tilottamā and showed such a keen interest in the beautifully delineated figure that 'Kāmadeva' (god of love, cupid) overpowered him and he began to long for the fairy queen.[42]

This description clearly indicates that great attention was paid towards this art which, besides its artistic value which was considerable, was a source of recreation and enjoyment. The state collection of paintings and portraits must have offered stimulous to artists who might have enjoyed state patronage for the development of this art.

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[42] PV, XI, 24-105.

This art had an ancient tradition and mostly the pictures of different gods and goddesses were delineated in various poses and colours. These portraits were engraved on pieces of stones as well. There was discovered during excavations in the Adhāi-din-kā-Jhonprā at Ajmer, a piece of stone on which are engraved two rows of the portraits of gods. The upper row contains those of Kālī, Prabhāta, Prāta, Madhyāhna, Aparāhna, and Sandhyā with the names of each of them on the top, while the lower one consists of the pictures of Maghā, Pūrvā-Phālguna, Uttarā-Phālguna, Hasti, Chitrā, Svāti and Viśākhā with their respective names engraved immediately below each of them.[43]

In its secular aspect, however, this art seems to have depicted various natural scenes and sceneries, battles and love-affairs, heroes and heroines, reformers and ascetics and other high personalities of different ages. We are told that Mlechchhas were represented as being slain and their flesh being eaten by dogs in the picture-gallery of king Prithvīrāja III, and when Shahab-ud-din happened to see it, he was exceedingly incensed at this biting insult, somuch so, indeed, that it brought about the immediate death of Prithvīrāja III who was then in prison.[44]

Music.

Music, which is a natural expression of man's passionate feelings, has been cultivated as an art in India

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43. This piece of stone is deposited in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
44. Tawney : PC, p. 191.

since time immemorial. It consists of three parts, i. e. song, instrument and dance. In early medieval times, considerable progress was achieved in this art and numerous treatises enriched its literature from time to time. Among the most elaborate and comprehensive treatises is the 'Sangīta-Ratnākara of Śārṅgadhara[15] which, on account of its close approximity with our time, may be said to represent this art as it was prevalent and practised at the Chāhamāna court of Ajmer. It records the traditional seven pure svaras', twelve impure 'svaras', four types of instruments and other minute details regarding 'Rāgas' and 'Rāganīs', 'svara' and 'Tāla' and dance etc. It further furnishes us series of names of master musicians and authors who with a flourished before the writer of the treatise.[16] We learn from this work that king Someśvara, who has been identified with the Chāhamāna king of this name (c. 1169-78 A. D.)[17] was thoroughly versed in the art of Music.[18]

Music enjoyed, perhaps more than any other art, the patronage of kings as well as the aristocracy of the land. Every court and every prince had his own court-singers called 'Vandījana', 'Sūta' or 'Māgadha' who eulogiged their lord or patron by songs of praise or

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45. This treatise was composed at the court of the Yādava king Sinhaṇa of Deogiri in the 1st. quarter of the 13th. century A.D.
46. Ojha : Madhya Kalina Bhartiya Sanskriti, p.
47. Ojha : History of Rajputana, Vol. I, p. 35.
48. रुद्रटो नान्यभूपालो भोजभूवल्लभस्तथा ।
परमर्दी च सोमेशो जगदेक (व) महीपतिः ॥ Sangīta Ratnākara, I, 18.

'Stutigānas'.[49] Kings maintained at their courts a number of musicians and dancers who provided recreation and enjoyment by musical performance. We learn from the Rājataraṅgiṇī that 'at night the assembly hall, illumined by a thousand lamps, was the scene of scholastic discussions, musical performances and dances.'[50] Inscriptional evidence further reveals that dancing girls or courtezans (Pramadā-kula), accompanied by their 'Śūlapālas', were required by the state to celebrate the festivals of gods by 'instrumental music, dancing, singing and so forth.'[51] However, performance of music and dance by professional dancing girls (Nartakīs) was a regular feature of the royal courts.[52] As a matter of fact, professional musicians and dancers formed a class by themselves who were often requisitioned to participate in various social or religious functions to provide enjoyment to assembled guests. The Tūryakas were a class of royal musicians who played on instruments like 'Mridanga' 'Bherī' and 'Paṭaha' etc. in the field of battle while the action was fought in all its fury.[53] The scope of dancing was not limited to human beings alone, but it was taught sometimes to animals as well.[54]

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[49] PV. XI, 13-23

[50] Kalhaṇa : Rājatarangiṇī, VII, 881-83, 895 and 944.

[51] EI, Vol. XI, p. 27.

[52] HM, XIII, 11-32 ; Rāso Sāra, p. 273. Prithvīrāja Rāso, Samaya LX, 1-10.

[53] HM, III, 59.

[54] We are told that in the final battle of Tarain in 1192 A. D. the disloyal master of the king's horse saddled and brought forth as the king's charger that day a horse styled ' Nāṭyārambha '. The horse began to dance and keep tune with the ' Royal Musicians in the field of battle. (HM, III, 52-59.)

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Songs were classified in early age into various ‘Rāgas’ and ‘Rāganīs’. In all there are six male ‘Rāgas’, and with them are associated as many as thirty-six ‘rāganīs’, which partake of the peculiar measure or quality of their males, but in a softer and more feminine degree. From each of these ‘rāganīs’ have been born three (upa) rāganīs reproducing the special peculiarity of their original. These, in their own turn, have further produced numerous offsprings, almost without number, each bearing a distinct individuality, to the primary ‘rāga’. The cultivation of this art is based on scientific principles and, as each of these ‘rāgas’ and ‘rāganīs’ is ‘designed to move some passion or affection of the mind’, each of them is assigned some particular season of the year, time of the day and night, or special locality and musicians would not sing any ‘raga’ or ‘rāganī’ out of its appropriate time, tune or locality. A regular system of notation, which was worked out long before, was strictly observed and faithfully adhered to by all classes of musicians whether professional or amateur.

Among the principal instruments of music were Vīṇā, Mṛidanga, Tumburu, Dundubhī, Bherī and Paṭaha etc.[55] and the attainment of the Hindus in the use of these instruments was marvellous. Men and women alike played on instrumental and vocal music and tried to excel each other in the mastery of this art.

Dancing was cultivated with keen interest by men and women, rich and poor all alike. However, this art was more suited to the genius of the womanfolk and hence 'Nartakīs' had a better attraction for their more graceful performance of dance. Those of the dances which were marked for beauty, grace and refinement, seemed to have appealed more to the upper classes, while folk dance, which is a symbol of vigour and strength, was associated more or less with vulgarity and the lower classes in society.

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[55] HM, III, 59 and XIII, 13.

Music is closely allied to drama and may be said to be an integral part of it. An inscriptional evidence records the erection of a central hall, called 'Prekshāgriha', intended for dramatic performances.[56] It appears regular theatre halls were built and maintained by kings or wealthy citizens where dramas were staged from time to time to provide recreation and enjoyment to the people.

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56. EI, Vol. XI, p. 54.

CHAPTER XVII

EPILOGUE

The Chāhamānas, who appear to be the descendants of the ancient Mālavas, rose into prominence as a political power in central Rajasthan sometime during the upheaval caused by the Hūṇa invasion of India. Chāhamāna, the progenitor of the family and the destroyer of the Mlechchhas, seems to have made a common cause with king Yaśodharman of Malwa in driving away the Hūṇas from the country and ultimately carved out for himself a principality round Ahichchhatrapura[2] or modern Nagor. Prince Vāsudeva one of this desendants, who flourished in the latter half of the 6th century A. D.[3], extended his dominion by taking possession of the Sākambharī region. However, during the imperial rule of king Harshavardhan, the Chāhamāna power must have been considerably eclipsed ; but, as his death signalised the triumph of disruptive tendencies in the country, the Chāhamāñas found a welcome opportunity to revive and assert their independence once again. This attempt brought them into conflict with their neighbours, the Pratīhāras of Ujjain, who ultimately forced them to accept their suzerainty sometime during the

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1. supra, *pp*. 45.-47.
2. ibid, *pp*. 79-80.
3. ibid, *pp*. 81-84 SJGM, Vol. VI, *p*. 133.

middle of the 8th. century A. D. and continued to exercise their paramountcy over the Chāhamānas from their imperial capital at Kanauj for the next two centuries.

The gradual decline of the Pratīhāra empire in the 10th century A. D. encouraged the Chāhamānas to make a bid for independence and, consequently, they became a sovereign power during the reign of king Vigraharāja II (c. 971-98 A. D.). In their endeavour to extend the frontiers of their kingdom they came into clash with various ruling dynasties of their age, such as the Paramāras of Malwa, the Chaulukyas of Gujrat, the Chandelas of Jejākabhukti and the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanuaj. Moreover, they had to fight the Turks also who had extended their empire upto the Punjab, Multan and Sindh. On both these fronts they held their own with conspicuous success and soon grew into a powerful state.

However, it was king Vigraharāja IV (c. 1150-64 A.D.) who raised the dignity of the house to an imperial pitch by repeatedly exterminating the 'barbarians' and waging successful wars against his Indian contemporaries.[4] This proud position was well-maintained by his worthy successors and, during the reign of king Prithvīrāja III (1178-1192 A.D), the dynasty reached the pinnacle of its glory. He was an ambitious monarch who established the supremacy of his arms in northern India by defeating almost all the powerful kings of his time and justified the assumption of the imperial role of Bhārateśvara.[5] He had to meet the renewed invasion of the Turks as well, who had grown into a strong power under the vigorous rule of Sultan Shahab-ud-din of Ghor. The Chāhamāna sovereign inflicted successive defeats on his formidable enemy,[6] but, in the final engagement in 1192 A.D., the Sultan, through treachery and superior strategem, won a decisive victory which not only put an end to the Chāhamāna power at Delhi and Ajmer but also brought about the political subjugation of the country for centuries.

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[4] IA, Vol. XIX, *pp.* 216-19, JASB, Vol. LV, part I, *p.* 31.

During the long period of their political life the Chāhamānas had many achievements to their credit. As a dependent state to the Pratīhāras of Kanauj they fought successfully in such distant lands as Gauḍa[7] and won many an important battle against the Arabs in the west. But when they became a sovereign power, the responsibilitiy of defending the gates of north-western India against the repeated invasion of the Turks fell mostly upon their shoulders and, on different occasions, the Chāhamānas beat off the invading armies with severe losses and thus saved the country from subjugation to Muslim rule for considerable time. Moreover, through their successful attempts in stemming the tide of Islamic inroads, they protected the religion and culture of the country from destruction and, it was for the sake of this noble cause, that king Prithvīrāja III, the greatest monarch of this dynasty, fell fighting in the field of battle against the Turks in 1192 A.D.

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[5] PV, XI, 8.

[6] supra, *pp.* 186-189

[7] PV, V, 20.

They extended their patronage to Indian literature and it was no doubt partly due to the impetus received from some of the Chāhamāna kings, who were noted for their learning and scholarship, that there was considerable literary activity in the kingdom of Ajmer. King Vigraharāja IV was a poet of great repute. He composed the 'Harakeli-Nāṭka' and received the title of 'Kavi-bāndava'[8] (a friend of poets) for his bounteous liberality to men of letters. Many a distinguished scholar and poet from different parts of the country gathered round the court of king Prithvīrāja III under whose patronage they composed beautiful poems and learned treatises on various subjects. He is himself the theme of two great poems, viz., the 'Prithvīrāja-Vijaya' and the 'Prithvīrāja-Rāso' which were written by his court poets Jayānaka and Chanda respectively.

They were no less inclined towards the development of art and architecture within their kingdom. Among the numerous temples and buildings they erected at Ajmer and other places—most of which, however, were subsequently destroyed by the conquerors—the Sarasvatī temple at Ajmer, which was a fitting monument of the glorious reign of king Vigraharāja IV, was perhsps the finest and, from the view-points of carving and architectural finish, it is one of the most beautiful buildings of all ages.

The Chāhamāna kings were further noted for their liberal and catholic attitude towards all castes and creeds and the adherents of all religions within their territory had full faith and confidence in their justice.[9] They also offered ample facilities for the growth and development of different creeds in their kingdom.[10]

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[8] Tawney : PC, *p.* 141; JRAS, 1913, *p.* 276.

But, if we glance over the political, social, economic and cultural activities of the period, we notice that the Chāhamānas, on account of certain weaknesses and limitations common to all the dynasties of northern India of this period, could not rise above the age. Inside the country they were constantly engaged in internecine warfare and had, therefore, little time and means at their disposal to devote to the all-round welfare of their subjects. They further lacked in plolitical sagacity and foresight and, although they were a powerful state and had scored successive victories against the Turks, they did not adopt, with the probable exception of king Vigraharāja IV,[11] a bold and aggressive foreign policy even against the tottering Yamini dynasty at Lahore and the decadent Muslim power at Ghazni. Such a policy, if successful, would have certainly enhanced their prestige and strengthened their position in the country. They also failed to take lessons in war strategy fom their enemies who always subordinated the means to the realization of the end. Moreover, they placed too much reliance on the words of the Turks who often played treachery and deceit for securing a victory.[12] For these and other tactical mistakes the Chāhamānas of Ajmer had to pay a heavy price and, in the end, they lost not only their freedom but their kingdom as well. It is, indeed, an irony of fate that, inspite of their great love for freedom, justice and good government, they could not inspire the people with patriotic feelings and secure the support of other states even at a time when the independence of the whole country was seriously threatened, and a single defeat at the hands of a foreign invader put an end to their age-long rule within their own country.

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[9] supra, *pp*. 362-63; Hindustani, Jan. 1940, *pp*. 77-99.

[10] EI, Vol. XI, *pp*. 28, 35, 36, 42, 47, 49, 50 and 59.

[11] supra, *pp*. 142-45.

Thus, although the end of the Chāhamāna power at Ajmer and Delhi was sudden and tragic, their attempts for centuries in defending the religion and culture of the country were praiseworthy. For this noble cause they fought, and continued to fight even after their fall in 1192 A.D., numerous encounters and engagements against the Musalmans, so much so, indeed, that there is hardly a spot in Rajasthan 'that does not contain some record of the illustrious Chohan.' They were a brave and war-like people who can very favourably compare with any chivalrous people of the world in their love for heroic deeds involving immense hardship and enormous sacrifice. Col. James Tod ascribes to the Chāhamānas for their valourous conduct 'the palm of martial intrepidity' over all the ruling dynasties of the age and adds that though the Guhilots of Mewar and the Rathors of Marwar

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[12] Elliot, Vol. II, *p*. 200; Raverty : TN, Vol. I, *p*. 466, footnote 1; Briggs : TF, Vol. I, *p*. 176; Tawney; PC, *p*. 191.

'would be ready to contest the point, impartial decision with a knowledge of their respective merit must assign to the Chohans the van in the long career of arms.' King Prithvīrāja III, the most illustrious prince of the house of Ajmer, 'shed such glory over the Rajput name by his personal bravery and valour that the Rajputs still love to believe that some one of their ancestors was with Prithvīrāja in his last memorable struggle with Shahab-ud-din on the plain of Panipat' (Tarain). The heroic deeds of this great king continued to inspire the princes and people of Rajasthan with patriotic fervour in their struggle for independence against the mighty Sultans of Delhi. His forceful personality further developed into an ideal of political power, romance and chivalry and he influenced considerably the course of Indian literature by forming the theme of many a ballad and story which are sung and read with great interest to this day.

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